Envisioning Women Writers: Female Authorship and the Cultures of Publishing and Translation in Early 20th Century Japan

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation examines the discourses surrounding women and writing in the rapidly commercialized publishing industry and media in early 20th-century Japan. While Japan has a rich history of women's writing from the 10th century onwards, it was in the 1910s that the journalistic category of "women's literature" (*joryû bungaku*) emerged within the dominant literary mode of Naturalism, as the field of literature itself achieved a respectable cultural status after the end of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5). Through a close textual analysis of fictional works, literary journals, and newspapers from the turn of the century to the 1930s, I explore how various women embraced, subverted, and negotiated the gendered identity of the "woman writer" (*joryû sakka*) while creating their own spheres of literary production through women's literary journals. Central to this investigation are issues of media, translation, canonization, and the creation of literary histories as Japanese literature became institutionalized within the new cosmopolitan notion of world literature.

The first chapter explores how the image of the woman writer formed around the key figure of Tamura Toshiko (1884-1945) within the interrelated discourses of Naturalism, the New Woman, and decadence in the 1910s. As the New Woman became a social phenomenon alongside ongoing debates about women's issues, feminist women inaugurated the journal *Seitô* (Bluestocking, 1911-16) as a venue for women's literature. While this category renders their writings marginal to mainstream literature, it was a progressive, political position that marked

their place within the literary world. I examine Toshiko's ambivalent position within this feminist project, and the instability of the media image of the New Woman that was always on the verge of slipping into the decadent figure of *femme fatale*.

The second chapter examines the canonization of the late 19th-century prominent writer Higuchi Ichiyô (1872-96) at the turn of the century as a model woman writer and an embodiment of Japan's past tradition, which cast a threatening shadow on the women of *Seitô*. Tamura Toshiko's rejection of the New Woman identity and increasing association with aesthetic decadence also came to be at odds with their feminist mission. *Seitô* women's rejection of both Ichiyô and Toshiko was thus a necessary act in self-proclaiming the birth of the New Woman. As the number of women writers gradually increased in the late 1910s, various types of literary expression emerged beyond gendered expectations, paving the way for the mass expansion of women's writing in the 1920s.

As the notion of world literature formed alongside various national literatures during the vast expansion of the publishing industry and translation culture in the 1920s, women began to envision their own alternative genealogy alongside dominant literary histories. The third chapter explores the envisioning of women's literary history by the *Seitô* writer Ikuta Hanayo (1888-1970) and the British modernist Virginia Woolf (1882-1941), whose feminist imaginations came together through the canonization of the English translation of *The Tale of Genji*, originally an 11th-century work written by a woman. As the growth of translations created a sense of global simultaneity, I further examine how the rhetoric of gender was central to Japanese literary modernism through the reception of two major British modernists, James Joyce and Virginia Woolf, in Japan.

The final chapter examines the writings of Osaki Midori (1896-1971), tracing her initial involvement with a community of women writers in the journal *Nyonin geijutsu* (Women's Arts, 1928-32), to her eventual adoption of a strategic outsider position as she began to publish in avant-garde journals. Midori's literary innovations and modernist aesthetics are closely connected to the feminist concerns of the period, offering a powerful critique of established views of gender, genre, authorship, and the nation, and showing increasing awareness of the position of women within literary history and vis-à-vis literary production. By reading her works alongside the works of Virginia Woolf, which were entering Japan's literary discourse contemporaneously, I show that Osaki Midori is an important modernist writer and a feminist thinker whose ideas are still illuminating to readers today.

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Introduction

> *And she plunged her pen neck deep in the ink. To her enormous surprise, there was no explosion. She drew the nib out. It was wet, but not dripping. She wrote. The words were a little long in coming, but come they did. Ah! but did they make sense? she wondered, a panic coming over her lest the pen might have been at some of its involuntary pranks again.*
> Virginia Woolf, *Orlando: A Biography* (1928)

In her 1928 novel *Orlando: A Biography*, Virginia Woolf (1882-1941) presents a mock Künstlerroman of the protagonist Orlando who lives over three centuries and transforms from a man to a woman before finally completing the manuscript "The Oak Tree" in the 20th century. In this mock biography and fantastical reimagining of literary history, Woolf exposes the socially constructed notion and the performativity of gender, offering a playful yet astute criticism of the dynamics of gender and literary production. In the passage quoted above, Woolf at once evokes the tangible psychological obstacles that women must overcome before taking up the pen ("To her enormous surprise, there was no explosion"[1]), and also satirizes the notion of the gendered writer by having the protagonist change sex from man to woman in the middle of the novel. The passage describes the moment when the female Orlando picks up the pen after having passed through the Victorian period (during which she had yielded to the "spirit of the age" and taken a husband) and completes her manuscript; as she takes the railway train to London to have her manuscript published, she realizes that she has entered the 20th century. Orlando's completion and publication of the manuscript indicates the birth of the modern woman writer. At the same time, Woolf wittily questions the validity of the very notion of the gendered writer; if Orlando had begun writing as a man and completed the work as a woman, is the manuscript still a product

[1] Virginia Woolf, *Orlando: A Biography* (1929), p.183.

of a woman writer? What does it mean to label and to market a writer by his/her gender? What is a woman writer, and what, furthermore, is women's literature?

The fundamental questions that Woolf raises in 1928 regarding gender and writing help us to critically retrace and examine the discourses surrounding women and writing in modern Japan. While Japan has a rich history of women's writing from the 10th century onwards across various genres, there emerged a critical interest in women as readers and writers in the late 19th century as part of the various reforms and collective efforts to create a modern nation-state. Male educators and intellectuals avidly absorbed new Western ideals of womanhood, which were refashioned and developed within Japan's national context. These efforts at translation and adoption of Western discourses on women coincided with the emergence of journals and various media outlets that provided venues for the discussion of what came to be called the Woman Question (*Fujin mondai*). These new venues also provided ground for women's own literary production, and many Japanese women began to publish around the turn of the century in newly founded journals, newspapers, and books. Reflecting this surge in women's writing, it was in the first few decades of the 20th century that the journalistic category of "women's literature" (*joryû bungaku*) emerged systematically within the increasingly commercialized publishing industry. Using this newly constructed gendered framework, various new media sources aggressively marketed "women writers" (*joryû sakka*) as a phenomenon, which came to be discussed as objects of fascination and inquiry by both men and women.

Through the examination of the formation of modern gendered categories of authorship, my dissertation questions the essentialist notions of women's writing as natural and universal, and exposes the historically constructed notion of the idea of *l'ecriture feminine*. Within the dominant literary movement of Naturalism in early 20th century Japan, women's writing came to

be under scrutiny as important sources to reveal the truths regarding modern women, converging with the public interest in the New Woman as a social phenomenon. Women's writing came to be imagined as embodying a certain essential style that was characterized as feminine, though this *l'ecriture feminine* was a learned one that was shaped by a series of expectations – from the expectations of male intellectuals that exoticized female authorship as an object of critical study, to the invented legacy of the great "female" literary tradition that was formed as a result of the modern creation of national literary history. Assumed to embody a certain set of characteristics and styles, women's writing was thus relegated to a marginal, secondary realm within the expanding publishing world and the dominant literary discourse of Naturalism; yet, it was also in these margins that women could publish, form communities, and build a readership base.

Through a close textual analysis of selected fictional works, as well as literary journals and newspapers from the turn of the century to the 1930s, I examine how various women embrace, subvert, and negotiate the gendered identity of the "woman writer" (*joryû sakka*), while creating their own spheres of literary production through women's literary journals. The sense of pride and joy in taking on the modern identity of the woman writer seems also to be tinged with the anxiety of becoming a commodity in the increasingly commercialized publishing industry. Certain writers performed this persona and became celebrated in the media as women writers, while other women chose to reject the prevailing image and come up with their own definitions of what it meant to be modern intellectual women. By the mid-1920s, the category of women's literature had crystallized as the number of women who published in newspapers and mass-circulation journals reached a critical mass with the vast expansion of female readership. This made possible a tangible sense of a community of women writers working together within Japan's literary world, and further led to a larger imagined community of women writers beyond

national borders and historical time. These various forms of gendered communities and solidarities also became central to the works by modernist women in the 1930s.

The emergence of women writers in modern Japan was inseparable from the founding of the institutions of women's higher education. Women not only acquired knowledge and the skills of reading through encountering texts and studying foreign languages, but also formed friendships and ties that would later turn into literary networks. Yet, these higher institutions were themselves conflicted in their aim to provide opportunities for women to enter into various professions. The discourse of domesticity that was the foundational basis of these institutions marked a stark contrast with the sensationalism of the New Woman discourse (and later the Modern Girl) in the media, in which educated women and particularly women writers became objects of fascination and criticism. Nevertheless, many of the writers I will examine came to know one another through these institutions, making connections that definitively formed their literary careers.

There has been a growing effort to reclaim and archive the wealth of Japanese women's writing among North American scholars in the past few decades, which have resulted in a number of reference sources and anthologies in translation, particularly from the 1980s onward.[2] These efforts have also led to a number of studies done on women and literary culture in modern Japan in recent decades, examining the surge of women's writing at the turn of the century, the feminist movement and the New Woman in the 1910s, women's popular magazines and

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[2] References: Chieko I. Mulhern (ed), *Japanese Women Writers: A Bio-Critical Sourcebook* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1994); Yukiko Tanaka, *Women Writers of Meiji and Taisho Japan: Their Lives, Works, and Critical Reception, 1868-1926* (McFarland & Company, 2000); Carol Fairbanks, *Japanese Women Fiction Writers: Their Culture and Society, 1890s to 1990s: English Language Source* (Scarecrow Press, 2002); Rebecca Copeland and Melek Ortabasi (eds), *The Modern Murasaki: Writing by Women of Meiji Japan* (Columbia University Press, 2006). Anthologies in translation: Yukiko Tanaka and Elizabeth Hanson, *This Kind of Woman: Ten Stories by Japanese Women Writers, 1960-1976* (Stanford University Press, 1982); Yukiko Tanaka, *To Live and To Write: Selections by Japanese Women Writers, 1913-1938* (Seal Press, 1987); Noriko Mizuta Lippit, Kyoko Iriye Selden (eds), *Stories by Contemporary Japanese Women Writers* (M.E. Sharpe, c1982); *Japanese Women Writers: Twentieth Century Short Fiction* (M.E. Sharpe, 1991); *More Stories by Japanese Women Writers: An Anthology* (M.E. Sharpe, 2010).

proletarian and Marxist movements in the 1920s and 30s.[3] While the approach to study women as an isolated group has grown out of attempts at a revisionist history, there has also been growing interest in the idea of "women's literature" as a historically specific term that needs to be questioned and examined. Joan Ericson's seminal essay "The Origins of the Concept of 'Women's Literature'" (1996) began a series of enquiries regarding the modern origin of the gendered category of women's writing – a category that continued to evolve over the course of the 20th century and whose legacies can still be seen today.

My dissertation resonates with Ericson's enquiry and the collective efforts by recent scholars, but takes the unique angle of examining the developments and discourses surrounding women's writing in early 20th century Japan from a variety of frameworks: the expansion of the publishing industry and the formation of the field of literature, the growth of journalism and new forms of media, the vibrant culture of translation that created a sense of global simultaneity, the modern canonization of classical works, and the creation of literary history as Japanese literature became institutionalized within a new cosmopolitan notion of world literature. My project to rethink modern Japanese literature from the interrelated perspectives of gender, publishing and translation cultures, and national/world literature will not only be vital to Japan studies, but also be relevant to modernist, feminist, media, and transnational studies at large.

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[3] Meiji Period: Rebecca Copeland has worked extensively on Meiji women writers. *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2000); Rebecca Copeland and Melek Ortabasi (eds), *The Modern Murasaki: Writing by Women of Meiji Japan* (Columbia University Press, 2006).
1910s: Sharon Sievers, *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (Stanford University Press, 1983); Jan Bardsley, *The Bluestockings of Japan: New Woman Essays and Fiction from Seitô, 1911–16* (Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2007); Dina Lowy, *The Japanese "New Woman": Images of Gender and Modernity* (Rutgers University Press, c2007).
1920s-30s: Joan Ericson, *Be a Woman: Hayashi Fumiko and Modern Japanese Women's Literature* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1997); Barbara Sato, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan* (Duke University Press, 2003); Sarah Frederick, *Turning Pages: Reading and Writing Women's Magazines in Interwar Japan* (University of Hawai'i Press, c2006); Michiko Suzuki, *Becoming Modern Women: Love and Female Identity in Prewar Japanese Literature and Culture* (Stanford University Press, c2010).

Organization of the Dissertation

The first chapter explores how the modern category of the "woman writer" (*joryû sakka*) formed around the figure of Tamura Toshiko (1884-1945) within the interrelated discourses of Naturalism, the New Woman, and decadence in the late Meiji and early Taisho media. In the first section of the chapter, I discuss how Toshiko became one of Japan's first commercially successful writers in the 1910s, as the field of literature rapidly achieved an independent and respectable cultural status after the end of the Russo-Japanese War. Her emergence as a professional woman writer was intimately tied to the growth of the publishing industry, literary competitions sponsored by major newspapers, the establishment of the novel as the highest literary genre, and the dominant Naturalist discourse that privileged what was imagined as an authentic account of women's experience. Through advertisements and featured articles surrounding the publication of her first major novel *Resignation* (*Akirame*, 1911), Toshiko was marketed and discussed alongside the renowned female poet and essayist Yosano Akiko (1878-1942), together forming the category of women writers. Through a close examination of the novel, furthermore, I illuminate Toshiko's astute commentary on the gender dynamics of Japan's fast growing publishing industry and the media in the late Meiji period, and resistance towards the still overwhelmingly male dominated society that does not promise any true sense of freedom or fulfillment for women.

In the second half of the chapter, I examine the notion of women's writing alongside the public fascination with the New Woman as a new modern phenomenon in the early 1910s. As the figure of the New Woman gained unprecedented attention in relation to modern theater and ongoing debates about women's social issues, Japanese feminist women inaugurated the journal *Seitô* (Bluestocking, 1911-16) announcing its birth as a venue for "women's literature." While

this gendered category renders their writings marginal to what is understood as mainstream literature, it was a progressive, political position that marked their place within Japan's literary world. I examine the ambivalent position of Tamura Toshiko within this feminist project as she increasingly developed the literary persona of the decadent woman writer, and the instability of the New Woman ideal that was always on the verge of slipping into the seductive, decadent figure of *femme fatale*. Through a close textual analysis of her novel and short stories in this chapter, I explore Toshiko's critical exploration of the gender politics of Japan's literary world, the relationship between female sexuality, performance and writing, her unique vision on the relationship between women and artistic production, and her modernist aesthetics that placed her in an ambivalent position vis-à-vis the emerging feminist community.

The second chapter examines the issue of canonization as Japan entered into a new cosmopolitan view of literature in active dialogue with world literature at the turn of the 20th century. Through the anthologizing of her literary works and diary by the major publishing house Hakubunkan shortly after her death, Higuchi Ichiyô (1872-96) became canonized as an important writer of Meiji Japan and, more importantly, a model example of the Japanese woman writer. Through the canonization of Ichiyô in relation to the New Woman discourse, I explore how Ichiyô came to occupy the threshold of what was imagined as old and new Japan, both as an embodiment of Japan's past and as a proto-feminist figure. I illuminate the growing tension between progressive male intellectuals in support of women's issues who posited Ichiyô as the ideal woman writer of the past, and the women of *Seitô* who tried to take ownership over the discourse surrounding modern women's writing.

This gender divide can also be witnessed in the assessment of Tamura Toshiko, as she came to be canonized as the representative writer of the Taisho period through the literary

publishing house Shinchôsha. While male critics praised Toshiko as a representative woman writer that will reveal new truths about modern women, the *Seitô* women aggressively criticized her as old-fashioned and unawakened, just as they had done with Ichiyô to overcome her canonical presence. As I show, *Seitô* women's rejection of both Ichiyô and Toshiko was thus a necessary act in self-proclaiming the birth of New Women in the changing modern society. While Ichiyô and Toshiko were often discussed as isolated phenomena, the late 1910s gives witness to the emergence of a community of a new generation of women writers. While the Naturalist discourse initially shaped the role of women's writing as representing modern women's experience that was inaccessible to men, the gradual increase in the number of women writers led to an expansion of different types of literary expression beyond gendered expectations. The late 1910s thus paved the way for the mass expansion of women's writing in the 1920s.

The third chapter explores the issues of gender in the practices of translation, canonization, and the creation of literary histories in the 1920s and 30s. As the notion of world literature came into formation alongside the notions of various national literatures during the vast expansion of the publishing industry, women's writings came to be imagined as having their own alternative genealogy alongside the dominant literary histories. The envisioning of women's literary history across national boundaries by *Seitô* feminist Ikuta Hanayo (1888-1970) and British modernist Virginia Woolf (1882-1941) bears witness to the global simultaneity of this feminist mission, linked by the key figure of the 11th century Japanese court writer Murasaki Shikibu, whose work *The Tale of Genji* came to be widely recognized in and outside of Japan as a literary masterpiece through Arthur Waley's English translation (1925-33). With the backdrop of the global simultaneity of literary practice, predicated on technological advancements that allowed for a transnational transmission of texts, I illuminate the feminist imagining of an

alternative women's literary history as a source of empowerment in 1920s Japan in the context of mass print culture, translation culture and global feminism.

In the second half of the chapter, I explore the centrality of gender in the theories and works of Japanese literary modernism that emerged out of the vibrant print and translation culture of 1920s and 30s Japan. As the meaning of literature was being called into question in the age of mass culture and media, Itô Sei (1905-69), one of the most influential literary critics of the 20th century, emerged as the leading figure to advocate a new type of literature that radically departs from the novel of the pervious era. Although Itô and his cohorts envisioned a new kind of literature on the universal terms of "science" and "intellect," I show how the discourse of modernism in 1930s Japan is marked by the rhetoric of gender through an examination of the reception and canonization of two major British modernist writers James Joyce (1882-1941) and Virginia Woolf in Japan. While Joyce's canonical status in the reception of British modernism relegated Woolf to the secondary realm of the feminine, Woolf also came to occupy a critical position in the formation of Japanese literary modernism not only as an experimental modernist writer, but also as an important literary theorist and critic.

The final chapter examines the writings of an important, yet understudied female modernist writer Osaki Midori (1896-1971). The first half of the chapter traces the beginning of her career within the Naturalist discourse in mainstream journals, leading to her involvement with a community of women writers in *Nyonin geijutsu* (Women's Arts, 1928-32), which, after the discontinuation of *Seitô*, became the premiere forum for women's literature edited by women. Here, Midori contributed an array of works experimenting with various genres, and we can witness her development as a modernist writer on the pages of *Nyonin geijutsu* in conversation with other women writers both in and outside of the magazine, as she joined in their collective

feminist endeavor by participating in special issues and roundtable discussions about the future of women's writing in the late 1920s. Through an examination of Midori's involvement with this women's journal, I show that her literary innovations and modernist aesthetics are closely connected to the feminist concerns of the period, offering a powerful critique of established views of gender, genre, authorship, and national boundaries, and showing awareness of the position of women within the literary canon and vis-à-vis literary production.

The second half of the chapter explores Midori's mature works following her novella *Dainana kankai hôkô* (Wandering in the World of the Seventh Sense, 1931). Through a close textual analysis of her fictional works and essays, I explore Midori's concerns with the problem of character representation and breakdown of the novelistic genre, her interest in new technological arts such as cinema and new findings in psychology, her envisioning of an utopian single-sex community and the possibilities of androgyny, and her critique of literary history and a strategic outsiders position, all of which are shared by the contemporary British modernist writer Virginia Woolf. By reading Midori's works alongside Woolf's works, which were entering Japan's literary discourse contemporaneously, I show how Midori is rooted in the vibrant media and translation culture of the 1920s and 30s that allowed her to be part of the global feminist and modernist discourse. While Midori's writings employ radically new ways of representation, as well as reflect the discourse of gender and sexuality that shaped Japan's literary scene since the early 20th century, they also show profound reflections on human psychology that is still relevant and inspiring today, making her one of Japan's most complex modernist writers of the pre-war period.

In order to provide historical context for the chapters outlined above, I will first give an overview of the various discourses and developments surrounding women from the early Meiji

period to the turn of the century, as women came to be positioned as new citizens of the modern nation-state. By illuminating the new Western ideals of gender, the discourses on women and writing when the field of literature itself was coming into formation, and the building of state policies and educational institutions surrounding women, we will be able to understand the dynamic environment of reading, writing, and publishing that paved the ground for the emergence of the women's writing in modern Japan.

Reading/Writing Women: Education, Media, and the Emergence of Professional Writing

As the Meiji government strove to create a central unified state under the slogan of Civilization and Enlightenment (*bunmei kaika*), education became one of the key facets of modernization and an important site of reform. The Ministry of Education was established in 1871 with the aim of creating a unified national education system under the leadership of the central government, and in the following year, the Education Ordinance (*Gakusei hanpu*) was passed to target a nationwide spread of a four-year compulsory primary education for all children (ages 8-15) regardless of gender or class. Alongside these reforms, various issues surrounding women emerged as new important sites of discourse in the process of westernization. Self-consciously breaking with the Edo period, progressive intellectuals such as Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1901) and other members of the Meirokusha made extensive efforts in the early 1870s to advance women's social status as an important means to modernize Japan.[4] Aiming to revise what they saw as outmoded Confucian ideals of womanhood, these men advocated new images of women as citizens of the new modern nation-state and a measure of civilization for the nation. Yet, when the fundamental framework of the modern education system was established in the

[4] See Sharon L. Sievers, *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness In Modern Japan* (1983), pp.10-25.

mid-1880s under the leadership of Japan's first Minister of Education Mori Arinori (1847-89), it was a gender-differentiated learning system in which women were clearly secondary to men.[5]

With women generally excluded from the post-primary institutions established by the government, it was primarily the private Christian missionary schools that took initiative in spreading women's education beyond the elementary level. The first of such schools was Mary Kidder's School that opened in 1870, later becoming the Ferris Women's Seminary in 1875 as it is known today.[6] There also followed Christian schools run by Japanese educators, most notably Meiji Women's School (*Meiji jogakkô*), a non-denominational school founded in 1885 upon the educational philosophy of Iwamoto Yoshiharu (1863-1942). Because of Iwamoto's connection to the literary world, the school attracted many prominent literary figures as teachers, and produced numerous alumni who eventually became writers.[7] Through the founding of the school and a women's education magazine that he edited, Iwamoto Yoshiharu emerged as an important figure and powerful voice concerning new ideals of womanhood, women's education, and women's literary production in late 19th-century Japan.

Jogaku zasshi and Female Readership

A few months before the founding of Meiji Women's School, Iwamoto Yoshiharu co-launched the magazine *Jogaku zasshi* (Women's Education Magazine, 1885.7-1904.2) with his

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[5] With the 1879 Education Order (*Kyôiku rei*), the government established separate schools for men and women in post-primary education, giving priority to men's higher education. Under Mori Arinori, a distinct hierarchy was put into place with the passing of four edicts in 1886: Primary School Edict, Middle School Edict, Normal School Edict and Imperial University Edict. While the Primary School Edict made a clear legal requirement for compulsory education for all children, the post-primary edicts were primarily aimed at men. The middle schools would prepare elite male students to enter the Imperial University, founded in 1877 with four faculties: natural science, law, humanities, and medicine.

[6] Notable alumni of Mary Kidder's School include Wakamatsu Shizuko (1864-96), and notable teachers include Kishida Toshiko (or Nakajima Shôen; 1868-1944). Christian missionary schools played an active role in providing women's secondary and higher education from the 1870s through the mid-1890s.

[7] Literary figures who taught at Meiji Jogakkô include Tsuda Umeko (1864-1929), Wakamatsu Shizuko (1864-96), and Shimizu Shikin (1867-1933), as well as the men who would form the *Bungakukai* coterie, Kitamura Tôkoku (1868-94), Shimazaki Tôson (1872-1943), Hirata Tokuboku (1873-1943) and Baba Kochô (1869-1940). Alumni include novelist Nogami Yaeko (1885-1985) and Japan's first female journalist Hani Motoko (1873-1957).

associate Kondô Kenzô. Founded upon the principle of the advancement of women's status in enlightened society, *Jogaku zasshi* became a progressive medium through which thinkers and writers addressed various issues surrounding women based on the new ideal of woman as an educated and moral being.[8] As the magazine's founding manifesto shows, the intention was to promote a new ideal of womanhood for Japanese women in the modern age:

> Deploring the fact that our mothers, our sisters, and our wives are treated as inferiors in this world, we... now have established *Jogaku zasshi* with the purpose of improving women's condition by providing them with a model of ideal womanhood that combines both the Western concept of women's rights and the traditional virtues of our own country.[9]

The magazine offered a wide range of subjects, from domestic matters such as clothing and hairstyle, sleeping habits, pregnancy and parenting, to social issues such as anti-prostitution and temperance. Key new concepts were introduced and regularly discussed such as the modern western idea of the Home, as well as reports on contemporary developments in overseas institutions of women's higher education. As the founder and chief editor, Iwamoto soon became the leading voice of the magazine.

In an essay titled "Jogaku no kai" (Understanding *Jogaku*, 1888.5.26, *Jogaku zasshi*), Iwamoto defines the newly coined term *jogaku* (which literally means "the study of women") as a new branch of study: "a study concerning the various truths surrounding women: her mind and body, her past and future, her rights and social position, and the miscellaneous matters vital to her present state" (*MBZ*32, 20).[10] The new discipline came into being to correct the neglect of

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[8] See Michael C. Brownstein's "*Jogaku Zasshi* and the Founding of Bungakukai" (1980) and Rebecca Copeland's *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan* (2000).

[9] Quoted from Rebecca Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, p.10. 「吾等の母吾等の姉吾等の妻の何故にかく世に軽ろしめらるべきものなるやを憂い先に女学新誌を発刊して専ら婦女改良の事に勉め希ふ所ハ欧米の女権と吾国従来 の女徳とを合せて完全の模範を作り為さんとするに在りき」

[10] Quoted from *Meiji bungaku zenshû 32: Jogaku zasshi, Bungakukai shû* (1973.9) (abbreviated as *MBZ*32). 「女学は、即ち、「婦女子に関する一科の学問」と云えること也。之を言ひ換ゆれば、其の心身に付て、其過去に付て、其将来に付て、其権理、地位に付て、及び其の現今に必要する雑多の事物に付て、凡そ女性に関係する凡百の道理を研究する所の学問なり。」

women in the past, and to educate women to bring out her natural potential in the present age. Achieving this is the mission of the *jogaku* scholar, whose role Iwamoto explains as follows:

> Regardless of country or era, women are often looked down upon and treated poorly. A *jogaku* scholar must, therefore, regardless of country or era, take on the role of a counselor, a defender, a teacher and a guide – at times showing the way, at times restraining – sometimes petitioner, sometimes taking on a thankless role – thus being a brother, a friend and a family member, always aspiring for her happiness and convenience.[11] (*MBZ*32, 21)

As is evident from this passage, the *jogaku* scholar is gendered male, and his role is to guide women to achieve happiness by emerging out of their deprived states. The repeated phrase "regardless of country or era" makes this a universal and timeless mission, transcending the specific conditions of the rapidly modernizing Japan in the late 19th century. The magazine reflects this persona of the *jogaku* scholar particularly in the early years; the contributors were mostly men, and every issue opens with Iwamoto's philosophical editorial piece that sets the tone of the issue. There were, however, a few exceptional female contributors, such as Nakajima Shôen (1863-1901) and Shimizu Shikin (1867-1933) who were political speakers for the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement and who regularly wrote essays and opinion pieces for the magazine, and other women such as Miyake Kaho (1868-1944) and Wakamatsu Shizuko (1864-96) that contributed primarily fiction and translations. By educating women into modern ideals of womanhood through gentle guidance, Iwamoto aimed that the journal would help bring forth a civilized "New Japan" (*shin Nihon*).

Literature came to be a newly contested notion in the mid-1880s, and one of the major topics in *Jogaku zasshi* was the role of literature in women's education. The magazine plays an important part in the reception of Western works, particularly in bringing to attention the wealth

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[11] 「何れの国、何れの時代を問はず、女性は多く軽蔑され、冷待せられ易きものなるが故に、女学士は、又た何れの国を問はず、何づれの時代を問はず、常に之が代言人と為り、之が弁護人と為り、之が教師と為り、之が案内者となり、或は之を導き、或は之を引止め、時としては之が建白書捧呈人と為り、又時としては之が悪まれ者と為り、即ち之が兄弟と為り、朋友と為り、一家族と為りて、終始其幸福便利を図る所の者也。」

of European and American women's writing in recent history. Short literary quotations in English, many of which were of Victorian origin, are interspersed throughout the issues to give poetic evidence to the new concepts being introduced. Serialized translations of longer poems and novels begin to appear in the 1890s.[12] The magazine furthermore became a site for Japan's own literary production, publishing novels and stories by both men and women as well as reviews of recent publications. Most importantly, Iwamoto Yoshiharu emerged as an important voice in the magazine in articulating the role of literature in modern women's education based on new ideals of womanhood, and in advocating women's literary production for the consumption of an expanding female readership.[13]

Concept of "Home" and the Modern Ideal of Womanhood

One of the central philosophies of *Jogaku zasshi* is a new ideal of womanhood that was based on the Victorian notion of the Home, a radically modern concept in conceptualizing women in relation to an enlightened society. In the newly emerging discourses of family, marriage and the role of women, the term Home – translated as "*katei*" or more often transcribed in *katakana* as "*hômu*" – became an important keyword in Japan from the mid-1880s onwards. In contrast to the feudal system of *ie* (household) based on the Confucian ideology where women are subordinate to men in a multi-generational household, Home was imagined as a place where the woman was the central figure, standing equal to her husband in her rule of the domestic space.

This vision of womanhood was voiced most eloquently by John Ruskin (1819-1900), a leading art and social critic in Victorian England who was one of the many writers that were introduced and translated in *Jogaku zasshi*. Of his two essays published in the book *Sesame and*

[12] Wakamatsu Shizuko's serialized translation of western works begin in the 1890s, most notably Alfred Tennyson's *Enoch Arden* (1890.1-3) and Frances Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1890.8-1892.1).
[13] *Jogaku zasshi* opens each issue with an unsigned editorial piece, which are generally understood to be of Iwamoto's authorship. Iwamoto used various pseudonyms throughout the magazine, sometimes what could be taken as female names. This issue of Iwamoto's assumption of female authorship would be an interesting topic to pursue.

Lilies (1865),[14] the second essay "Of Queens' Gardens" is an influential treatise on women's education upholding the doctrine of the "separate spheres," in which a woman's true place and power lies in the domestic home where men can take shelter from the anxieties of modern life. In fact, this home is not only a physical space but also an ideological one, giving a transcendent significance to the meaning of womanhood:

> And wherever a true wife comes, this home is always round her. The stars only may be over her head; the glowworm in the night cold grass may be the only fire at her foot: but home is yet wherever she is; and for a noble woman it stretches far round her, better than ceiled with cedar, or painted with vermilion, shedding its quiet light far, for those who else were homeless. (Ruskin, 78)

In an exalted rhetoric that naturalizes the hierarchy of power, Ruskin presents the ideal of womanhood as eternal and enduring, extending from the past into the future, erasing class differences that would make this ideal impossible. At the same time, this ideological expansion of the domestic sphere translates into his envisioning of women's roles in the realm of public life through social reform. Despite what appears to be biological essentialism from a contemporary perspective, Ruskin was nonetheless proposing a serious commitment to girl's education and the role of literature to that end, and this is what resonated with the philosophy of Meiji educators.

The notion of womanhood as the guardian of the Home was rooted in the Christian religion, and this is clearly articulated by the prominent Christian thinker Uchimura Kanzô (1861-1930) in his essay "Kurisuchan hômu" (Christian Home, 1888.9.1, *Jogaku zasshi*). Uchimura explains the *katakana* rendering of the title by claiming that the English term Home, along with another term Gentleman, is a unique notion that is untranslatable into any other

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[14] These essays were based on two lectures delivered to a mixed audience of middle-class men and women in December 1864 in Manchester, England. The first lecture "Of Kings' Treasuries" was given on December 6th in aid of a library fund for the Rusholme Institute, and the second lecture "Of Queens' Gardens" was delivered on December 14th at the Town Hall in aid of the St. Andrew's Schools. The book became a best-seller, and a common gift for girls in middle-class families. John Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies*, edited by Deborah Epstein Nord (2002), p.xiv. *Sesame and Lilies* (1865) was fully translated into Japanese by Kurihara Kojô as *Goma to Yuri* (1918.4), based on the 1871 edition of the book, which includes the author's new preface.

language. One can only truly understand the term, Uchiyama claims, after one has experienced and has been influenced by the Home, which is a realm reigned by the queenly figure of the wife. The wife rules over the domestic affairs from cleaning to baking to handling servants, so that the Home is clean and frugal, and every family member follows an orderly schedule in carrying out his or her assigned duties. A Home is also a place for children's education; the mother not only helps the children review what they have learned in school, but also teaches them to use proper language and to respect the elderly. Uchimura stresses that the Home cannot be acquired with wealth, but is rooted in the spirit of Christianity as embodied in the figure of the mother.

While Uchimura describes the role of the wife and mother within domestic space, Iwamoto rearticulates the Christian significance of the Home in more abstract terms in his essay "Kon'in ron" (Theory on Marriage, 1891.7-8, *Jogaku zasshi*), in which Home is presented as the modern incarnation of the Garden of Eden:

> The Garden of Eden of old is still preserved in the Home. The Queen's light of heaven already shines in the Home. Home, where the mother and the father reside; Home, where the "wife" resides. Home, Home – you are a blessed nursery that fosters humanity.[15] (*MBZ*32, 36)

Echoing Ruskin's evocation of the Home as an ideological space, Iwamoto takes the Home out of the realm of domesticity and into the universal level of humanity, in which all human beings are imagined as children to be nursed by the Queenly figure of the woman. This idea of "nursery" (*yôjien*) is based on the newly imported Western concept of childhood as a vital moment in a person's life that requires particular attention and affection. In addition, while the notion of motherhood existed prior to modern Japan, the idea of "wife" (*tsuma*) as a romantic partner to the husband is also a new modern concept, and thus presented in quotations.

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[15] 「むかしのエデンの園は、今もホームに残れり、后の天国の光は、既にホームに照れり。父母あるのホーム、「つま」あるのホーム。ホーム、ホーム、汝は人をして人たらしむるの恵みある養児園なり」

Despite their rhetoric of universality, both Iwamoto's and Ruskin's writings show anxiety over the changing roles of women and the growing agitation for women's rights and reform. In England, the Victorian discourse of domesticity was taking hold at a time of great social and economic change due to the Industrial Revolution, which brought forth new problems of labor and poverty with the increase of female workers. This is evidenced in Ruskin's words lamenting what he sees as a misunderstanding of the natures of men and women by women activists who demand equal rights:

> And there never was a time when wilder words were spoken, or more vain imagination permitted, respecting this question – quite vital to all social happiness. The relations of the womanly to the manly nature, their different capacities of intellect or of virtue, seem never to have been yet estimated with entire consent. We hear of the "mission" and of the "rights" of Woman, as if these could ever be separate from the mission and the rights of Man; – as if she and her lord were creatures of independent kind, and of irreconcilable claim. (Ruskin, 69-70)

Ruskin's disapproval of women activists and their "wild words" and "vain imagination" are taken a few steps further in Iwamoto's essay "Risô no kajin" (The Ideal Woman, 1888.4-5, *Jogaku zasshi*). Disqualifying women's rights activists from being the ideal type of woman, Iwamoto mocks them as "daring women" (*jojôfu*) and gives a caricature of their frightful and masculine appearances:

> She swaggers about with her square shoulders against the wind, scattering a cloud of dust with her dancing feet, and speaking sonorously as if she were a great man or an orator. Her eyeglasses glisten in the sun, her mouth shut tight, and the handkerchief around her neck will remain tied except in front of His Majesty the Emperor. Her upright back will not bend forward for an average wage-earning man. Brimming with courage and majestic authority, these daring women are truly a frightful vision. (*MBZ*32, 14)[16]

[16] 「其肩は怒って風を切り、其足は踊って砂煙を飛ばし、音吐朗々として偉男子の如く、口状節に合って演説家の如く、眼鏡は、朝日に照ってかがやき、口は固く締りて容易に開かず、首に巻いたるハンケチは、帝宮の陛下ならずんば取らず、直立したる腰は、中々五斗米男子の為には曲げず、勇気凛々、威貌堂々、真に見るも恐ろしき女丈夫なり。」

While promoting the advancement of women's social position, Iwamoto dismisses these women's rights activists as inappropriately aiming for the wrong goals, based on his new modern belief in the two sexes as complementary opposites.

It is through the idea of the separate spheres, in which men are creatures of society and women are guardians of the exalted domestic space of Home, that Iwamoto develops his vision of the ideal woman in the enlightened modern age:

> She need not be exceptionally beautiful. Yet her intellect must be strong, her sentiments refined, her views far-reaching. She must be thoroughly prepared for everything. Her virtue must be pure and innocent, her appearance graceful and gentle. She need not excel in dancing or music, but must believe in God, accept the truth, be full of love, and have abundant self-respect. With a refined disposition that will gently move those around her, she must inwardly possess courage that is capable and cheerful, yet patient and unbending.[17] (*MBZ*32, 16)

In stark contrast to the Confucian views of womanhood, which demanded women to renounce any sense of self to serve the family, Iwamoto stresses not only gentleness and refinement, but also intellect (*zunô*), views (s*hikiken*) and self-respect (*jison*). Criticizing the commonplace view that women's education is merely another decoration to make her more marriageable, Iwamoto imagines the ideal woman to be an embodiment of "goodness," through whose moral realm of the home, men will be "influenced" (*zenryô no kanka*).[18]

The Victorian ideal of womanhood thus fed into Iwamoto's philosophy on modern education for the ideal Japanese woman. Yet, Iwamoto argues, men too must also work hard to

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[17] 「然れども、必ずしも沈魚落雁閉月羞花の好顔あることを要せず。 其頭脳の甚だ確かなると共に、其の心情の甚だ優美なるもの、其の識見の甚だ遠大なると共に、其の用意の甚だ綿密なるものありて、而して其品徳は清潔潔白、其風采は優雅温和ならんことを望む。左れば、仮令ひ舞踏は上手にあらざるとも、音楽も亦た左程に堪能ならざるとも、先づ上帝を信じ、真理を喜び、愛情に富み、自尊の精神に厚く、而して楚々人を動かすの優美なる態度を以て、内に有 為快活なる、忍強不撓の勇気を含み居らんことを希がふもの也。」

[18] In one of his early editorials for *Jogaku zasshi*, Iwamoto argues that this narrow view of women's education is no different from the old Confucian ideal of womanhood as represented by Kaibara Ekiken's *Onna daigaku* (The Great Learning for Women, 1672?), a widely circulated manual of ethics and proper behavior for women of the samurai class. Claiming that women's education should not just be superficial window dressing, Iwamoto gives caution to the aspirations of women students in attaining a higher education. Iwamoto Yoshiharu, "Tôkon jogakusei no kokorozashi wa ikan" (What Are the Aims of Women Students?, 1887.9.10, *Jogaku zasshi*).

fulfill their duties as fathers and husbands. In mutually fulfilling these gender roles, there should be no hierarchy of power but a true equality between man and woman. An ideal marriage will be based on mutual respect (*sôkei*) and mutual love (*sôai*), where both sexes strictly abide by their gender roles.[19] While Iwamoto's belief that it is unnecessary to extend women's rights as long as they protect their virtue and self-respect is unrealistic and based on middle-class assumptions, Iwamoto is nonetheless introducing into Japan a radically new ideal of womanhood based on western chivalry, self-consciously rejecting Confucian views on marriage and womanhood. Furthermore, Iwamoto's repeated use of terms such as "*kôtô*" (high-class), "*jôtô*" (first-class) or "*jôryû*" (higher order), and in opposition, "*katô*" (low-class), shows a society where people have the ability to move across social hierarchies according to one's efforts and qualifications. It is due to this possibility of social mobility that education becomes all the more important.

Reform of Fiction for Women's Education

John Ruskin's work is based on the belief that the relationship between man and woman forms the fundamental basis of society, and that the aesthetic realm has an inextricable relation to the social. Iwamoto's philosophy on modern education in Meiji Japan also stems from these fundamental beliefs, and the newly contested notion of literature becomes inseparably linked to his ideas on women's education. In the essay "Shôsetsuron" (Theory of the Novel, 1887.10-11, *Jogaku Zasshi*), Iwamoto presents the reform of fiction as the most pressing concern for modern Japan. Responding to critics who condemn the entire genre of the novel as immoral, Iwamoto defends the novel as highly beneficial to women, as long as they know *how* and *what* to read. Because most readers of novels are female students or unmarried girls still in their teens, it is of utmost importance to discuss the effect of novels onto their readers. Warning the reader against possible negative influences of frivolous works, Iwamoto claims that as long as women can

[19] 「伉儷先づ相敬し相愛して、同等同和の愛を行ふにあり」 (*MBZ*32, 17).

critically select the right kind of novels, they will benefit from them by tasting the intricate mysteries of life from a young, susceptible age. What is important, in his view, is to have a "standard" (*hyôjun*) in deciphering good and bad novels, and "determination" (*kakugo*) in approaching the texts.

Iwamoto's basic ideas surrounding literature stems from Tsubouchi Shôyô's influential literary treatise *Shôsetsu shinzui* (The Essence of the Novel, 1885-86), which posits modern Western novels as the most advanced form of literature. Like Shôyô, Iwamoto rejects fantastical stories that characterize Edo period fiction such as Kyokutei Bakin's epic novel *Hakkenden* (Eight Dogs Chronicles, 1814-42), and advocates realistic novels that depict ordinary plots in a convincing manner. While Shôyô's emphasis of realism is a rejection of the didactic use of narrative fiction for "encouraging good and chastising evil" (*kanzen chôaku*), Iwamoto's ideological commitment to women's education leads him to place utmost importance in the ethical dimensions of fiction, even while advocating realism. A good modern novel should allow the reader to reflect upon similar circumstances and to learn from the characters' actions and mistakes. He proceeds to criticize Shôyô's novel *Tôsei shosei katagi* (Manners and Lives of Contemporary Students, 1885-86) for its neutral depiction of "the most insignificant and lazy characters… vulgar and low-level students who simply indulge in carnal desires" (*MBZ*32, 6).[20] Iwamoto also views negatively Futabatei Shimei's *Ukigumo* (Floating Clouds, 1887-89), another contemporary fiction that emerges out of Shôyô's theory on realism.[21] The essay ends with a

[20] 「君は何故に書生社会更に高等の人物数多有之を悉とく放棄して徹頭徹尾かかる小人怠惰生をのみ拾ひ集めたるか」「著者は何故に此流の人物の気質を写さずして単に肉欲界に彷徨する下等最末の書生をのみ書中の主人公とは為したる」

[21] In a later essay "Shôsetsuka no chakugan" (Viewpoint of the Novelist, 1889.3.23), Iwamoto develops his theory on the realistic novel and argues that in addition to portraying the society in a realistic fashion, what is important is the novelist's "viewpoint" (*chakugan*). The novelist is not only a "depicter of reality" (*shashinshi*) or "painter" (*ekaki*), but also a "lecturer" (*kôshakushi*) or "philosopher" (*tetsugakusha*). From this standpoint, Iwamoto gives a revised positive assessment of Futabatei Shimei's *Ukigumo*.

warning towards female readers not to get caught in a superficial reading of these recently acclaimed novels, but to approach them with a critical mind.

Iwamoto's belief in the ethical value of literature does not stem from the Confucian didactic model, from which he marks a clear break, but rather evolves out of the Victorian discourse on women and reading. In the aforementioned essay "Risô no kajin" (The Ideal Woman, 1888.4-5), Iwamoto laments the lack of model characters in Japanese novels, arguing for the role of literature in providing ideal images of women suitable to each nation. Just as Ruskin had referred to Shakespeare's great heroines in *Sesame and Lilies* as incarnations of the "perfect woman,"[22] Iwamoto names Shakespeare's various heroines such as Rosalind, Cordelia and Portia as great examples of Britain's national ideal. He also names other modern heroines depicted by writers such as William Wordsworth, Lord Byron, Goethe, Samuel Richardson, Oliver Goldsmith, Sir Walter Scott and Bulwer Lytton. Iwamoto's isolation of fictional characters as the key aspect of a literary work reflects the trend in 19th century England, where the life-writing genre became so popular that even biographies of fictional characters formed a minor genre.[23] Iwamoto explains that because there is an abundance of ideal women figures depicted in Western novels and poetry, Western women are able to intuitively and effortlessly seek them out as role models. While Japanese women have also tried to imitate female figures depicted in literature, the examples given by Bakin, Shunsui or Chikamatsu, or more recently Shôyô and Futabatei, are utterly unsuitable to women of modern Japan.

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[22] "Shakespeare has no heroes: - he has only heroines... Whereas there is hardly a play that has not a perfect woman in it, steadfast in grave hope and errorless purpose: Cordelia, Desdemona, Isabella, Hermione, Imogen, Queen Katherine, Perdita, Silvia, Viola, Rosalind, Helena, and last, and perhaps loveliest, Virgilia, are all faultless: conceived in the highest heroic type of humanity." (Ruskin, 70-71).

[23] Alison Booth gives as example Anna Jameson's *Characteristics of Women*, which was issued in later editions as *Shakespeare's Heroines* (1832). See Alison Booth's "Life Writing" in The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1830-1914 (2010), p.65.

The debate over the effect of literature on women readers was an important issue in mid-19th century England, which saw a mass expansion of print culture.[24] Reflecting the anxiety over the proliferation of periodicals and inexpensive books, Ruskin warns against the ill effects of modern literature for young girls and guides her instead to read great books of the past.[25] While Iwamoto's rhetoric on ideal womanhood and the importance of literature on women's education resonates with Ruskin's views, Japan's own consciousness of the dawning of modern literature in the mid-1880s leads Iwamoto to take a difference course that looks forward to the future. Iwamoto's grand mission is to build a wealth of literature that is fit for new, enlightened citizens of Japan to read, which is yet nonexistent in Japan. Because literature has so much influence over the nation's women, Iwamoto argues, the literary creation of a "new Japanese woman" (*shin Nihon joryû*) (*MBZ*32, 13) becomes a national mission. Rather than turning to literatures of the past, Iwamoto not only argues that novels, along with other arts, need to be reformed in order to help educate the minds and morals of women readers, but also encourages women to take up the pen to produce their own writing for the expanding female readership.

Women and the Literary Profession: Japan and Victorian England

In the essay "Joshi to shôsetsu" (Women and Novels, 1886.6-8, *Jogaku zasshi*), Iwamoto advocates the need for women to start writing fiction. While there have been several acclaimed works in the recent Meiji period such as Shôyô's *Tôsei shosei katagi* and Yano Ryûkei's political novel *Keikoku bidan* (Inspiring Tales of Statesmanship, 1883-84), he writes, these are clearly intended for a male readership, and the subjects of sexual indulgence and love are in fact harmful to women. Rather than read inappropriate novels extolling dubious morals, Iwamoto calls out to

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[24] See Jennifer Phegley, *Educating the Proper Woman Reader: Victorian Family Literary magazines and the Cultural Health of the Nation* (2004).

[25] "let us be sure that her books are not heaped up in her lap as they fall out of the package of the circulating library, wet with the last and lightest spray of the fountain of folly… Keep the modern magazine and novel out of your girl's way; turn her loose into the old library every wet day, and let her alone." (Ruskin, 82).

women to write their own novels for the consumption of their own sex. He finds a biological reason for the their aptitude; because women innately have an abundance of the three important criteria to become novelists – imagination (*sôzô*), observation (*kansatsu*) and sensitivity or perception (*kakuchi*) – they are just as suited to write novels as men are, if not even better. Rejecting the idea of women as passive readers, Iwamoto thus encourages women to produce works of literature that will have a moral influence upon their fellow women.

Iwamoto proceeds to give a list of great women writers of the past to give evidence to women's suitability to writing. In Japan, he names Ono no Komachi (fl.ca.850), Mother of Michitsuna (935-995), Akazome Emon (956-1041), Murasaki Shikibu (d.ca.1014), Sei Shônagon (b.ca.965), and Nun Abutsu (1222-83), and these names suggest the canonization of the Heian period as Japan's great literary past in the newly emerging modern literary histories.[26] In the West, he names writers from recent history: George Eliot (1819-80), Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806-61), Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-96), Margaret Oliphant (1829-97), Hanna More (1745-1833) and George Sand (1804-76).[27] In another essay "Joshi to bunpitsu no gyô" (Women and the Literary Profession, 1887.10, *Jogaku zasshi*) written the following year, Iwamoto reiterates the Japanese writers and adds the following names to the list of Western writers: Ann Radcliffe (1764-1823), Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797), Jane Austen (1775-1817), Charlotte Bronte

[26] For example, Mikami Sanji and Takatsu Kuwasaburô's two-volume *Nihon bungakushi* (History of Japanese Literature, 1890), which was the first history of Japanese national literature. See Tomi Suzuki, "*The Tale of Genji*, National Literature, Language, and Modernism" (2008).

[27] 「小説の作者としては古今に有名なる女の多くあると実に驚くべきなり見るべし紫式部の源氏物語に於ける清少納言の枕草子に於ける伊勢の伊勢物語。阿仏の十六夜日記。赤染衛門の栄華物語。辨の局の狭衣。道綱の母の蜻蛉日記小野お通の浄瑠璃物語。等みな今にのこりて和文の小説中首位を占るものなり西洋にてもゼウヂイリヨットミッセスブロウニング。ミッセスビーチェルストウ。ミッセスヲリフハント。ハンナモール。及びゼウヂサンドの如きいづれも男子に凌駕するほどの女作者なり」「女子と小説（下）」(1886.8.15)

(1816-55), Madame de Staël (1766-1817), Harriet Martineau (1802-76) and a few others.[28] Through the long list of women writers both foreign and Japanese, bridging the huge gap in chronology, Iwamoto makes the sweeping claim that it is in the realm of fiction and poetry (*bunshô shiika*) that women have universally contributed to the progress of civilization over the course of history. In making this transhistorical claim, Iwamoto argues that Japanese women writers of the past are still objects of respect by male writers of the present, and continue to influence Japanese literature (*Nihon bungaku*) into the 19th century. The names of these women are, furthermore, mentioned again and again throughout the various issues, creating a sense of canonicity within the magazine.

While Iwamoto's reference for the Japanese writers are from the Heian to medieval periods, his main references for Western writers are from Victorian England, which was a period when women increasingly began to enjoy successful careers as professional writers.[29] As literature became a profession for the first time for both men and women in England, many women began to make their living by writing book reviews and essays for the periodical press. Harriet Martineau was the most prominent woman of letters of the 1830s, and became the model for subsequent women of letters, including the much-revered writer George Eliot.[30] The growing number of women writers in 19th century England also resulted in an intense interest in their lives, as witnessed by the profusion of collective biographies of women writers in the latter half

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[28] "Joshi to bunpitsu no gyô" (1887.10.8, *Jogaku zasshi*). I was unable to identify the following names: マダムダルブレー、ヲビー夫人、モルガン姫、マックリアン夫人、ヘンマン夫人.

[29] The two French writers Madame de Staël and George Sand were both major figures in nineteenth century England. See Linda M. Lewis's *Germaine de Staël, George Sand, and the Victorian Woman Artist* (2003), Patricia Thomson's *George Sand and the Victorians: Her Influence and Reputation in Nineteenth-Century England* (1977), and Paul G. Blount's *George Sand and the Victorian World* (1979). The American novelist Harriet Beecher Stowe became an international celebrity with *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

[30] Linda Peterson, *Becoming a Woman of Letters: Myths of Authorship and Facts of the Victorian Market* (2009), p.7. Peterson quotes G.H. Lewes's seminal article "The Condition of Authors in England, Germany, and France," published in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1847: "Literature has become a profession. It is a means of subsistence almost as certain as the bar or the church." (p.34)

of the century.[31] According to Linda Peterson, the first use of the term "woman of letters" in the book title was Julia Kavanagh's two-volume study *English Women of Letters: Biographical Sketches* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1863), which created a genealogy for Victorian women writers by tracing a number of 18th century writers.[32] These biographies, in addition to the periodicals, may have been some of the sources that Iwamoto was drawing from, just as these women were being recorded and canonized in their own national literary histories. In the 1880s, furthermore, just as Iwamoto was embarking on the founding of *Jogaku zasshi*, J.H. Ingram began the Eminent Women's series featuring biographies of contemporary English women writers, as well as certain European figures who were influential in England.[33] Many of these writers overlap with Iwamoto's list, and gives witness to his enthusiasm for introducing the most up-to-date state of Western literature to the women of Japan.

One of the reasons why writing became one of the few professions open to middle-class Victorian women was because it was thought to be something that could be carried out in the domestic home. This logic is articulated in "Joshi to bunpitsu no gyô," where Iwamoto claims that writing is a suitable and easily attainable profession for women in Japan. With just a brush and an ink stone, a woman can jot down her thoughts in the kitchen or the bedroom whenever

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[31] Joanne Shattock writes: "Works such as Anna Katherine Elwood's *Memoirs of the Literary Ladies of England* (1843), Jane Williams's *The Literary Women of England* (1861), Julia Kavanagh's *English Women of Letters* (1863) recycled biographical information and offered some critical assessment of mainly novelists and prose writers. Frederick Rowton's *The Female Poets of Great Britain* (1848) and Eric S. Robertson's *English Poetesses* (1883) did the same for women poets. The impact of a magazine culture and the emergence of the personal interview were reflected in Helen C. Black's *Notable Women Authors of the Day* (1893), based on interviews conducted for the *Lady's Pictorial*. At the end of the century fiction publishers Hurst and Blackett produced *Women Novelists of Queen Victoria's Reign* (1897) in which living women novelists offered retrospective assessments of their elder and now deceased sisters." Joanne Shattock, "The Construction of the Woman Writer" in Joanne Shattock (ed), *Women and Literature in Britain 1800-1900* (2001), p.11.

[32] Linda Peterson, *Becoming a Woman of Letters* (2009), p.4

[33] The series featured Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1883), George Eliot (1883), George Sand (1883), Margaret Fuller (1883), Maria Edgeworth (1883), Mary Lamb (1883), Harriet Martineau (1884), Countess of Albany (1884), Mary Wollstonecraft (1885), Rachel (1885), Susanna Wesley (1886), Madame Roland (1886), Madame de Staël (1887), Hanna More (1888), Jane Austen (1889) and Mary Shelley (1890). The series, published by W.H. Allen, began in the wake of John Morley's biographical project English Men of Letters, which featured no women in the first series. Joanne Shattock, "The Construction of the Woman Writer," p.11.

she has free time from housework. While Iwamoto's reason for women's aptitude for writing seems like a chauvinistic view that confines women in the domestic realm, his argument is more circumstantial than is essential. He goes on to write in the second installment of the essay that among the various genres, women are in fact best suited at becoming journalists for newspapers and magazines. While journalism requires qualities such as quick wit, judgment, scholarship and perseverance, the most important aspect is speed, which is suitable to women who must find time between housework. Considering the state of women today, he claims, it is easier for women to produce short journalistic writings concerned with various facets of present affairs, rather than devoting years of research on a singular topic. Iwamoto's practical vision opened up room for women to participate in the building of a national literature and journalism in Meiji Japan, where literature had gained newly found seriousness as a national concern.

Iwamoto goes on to give a list of American journals that employ women journalists and editors: *Harper's Bazaar* (Mary Booth), *St. Nicholas* (Mary Mapes Dodge), *Wide Awake* (Ella Farman Pratt), *Woman's Journal* (Lucy Stone and Alice Stone Blackwell), *The Critic* (Jeannette Leonard Gilder), *Good Cheer Magazine* (Kate Upson Clark), *Boston Globe* (マリーハッチ), *Boston Advertiser* (Sallie Joy White), *Christian Intelligencer New York* (Margaret Sangster), *Inquirer* (Rebecca Harding Davis), *Demorest's Monthly Magazine* (Jane C. Croly "Jennie June"), *New York Tribune* (Ellen Hutchinson) and *The Union Signal* (members of the Christian Woman's Temperance Union). Expressing awe at the number of women actively working in journalism in United States, Iwamoto laments the Japanese law that prohibits women from entering the profession as editors or publishers. Concluding that much of the discourse supporting women's rights by male intellectuals is just a veiled form of misogyny, Iwamoto encourages women to voice their own opinions on women's rights and education through their own writing.

Among the Victorian women writers, George Eliot emerges as an important figure repeatedly introduced and discussed in *Jogaku zasshi*, not only as a great writer but also as an ideal woman figure. In a biography (1888.5) spread over two installments overlapping with Iwamoto's "Risô no kanjin," George Eliot is praised for her "profound learning" (*hakushiki*) and "literary talent" (*saihitsu*), and is celebrated alongside Thackeray and Dickens as one of the three greatest writers since Sir Walter Scott.[34] In presenting Eliot as an ideal woman figure, the biography characterizes the writer as not possessing outward beauty, which was one of the traits that Iwamoto had described. The short biography paraphrases a well-known obituary article by F.W.H. Myers from *Century Magazine* (1881.11), mentioning her "deeply lined face, the too marked and massive features [which] were united with an air of delicate refinement," her "inward beauty [that] would sometimes quite transform the external harshness," and her gestures and gaze that suggested a "wise, benignant soul."[35] While Myers negates the possibility of casting her as an ideal in the original essay, this passage remains untranslated.[36] The biography also glosses over Eliot's controversial relationship with George Henry Lewes, a married man with whom she had lived with for nearly twenty years. While this extramarital relationship would not have been condoned within the philosophy of *Jogaku zasshi*, Lewes is simply described here as an "eternal friend" (*eien no kayû*) with whom Eliot had exchanged "vows of life partnership" (*kairô no chigiri*). It is only with John Walter Cross, whom she eventually

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[34] There is a brief note that this short biography was based on Eliot's husband John Walter Cross's three-volume *Life* (1885), and the recognition of her earlier works – *Scenes of Clerical Life*, *Adam Bede*, *The Mill on the Floss* and *Silas Marner* – reflects the contemporary assessment in England. The prominent literary critic Leslie Stephen had also praised "the works of her first period" in his obituary article for Eliot: "There is no danger in arousing any controversy in saying that the works of her first period, the *Scenes of Clerical Life*, *Adam Bede*, *Silas Marner* and the *Mill on the Floss*, have the unmistakable mark of high genius." Leslie Stephen, *Cornhill Magazine* 43 (February 1881), reprinted in David Carroll (ed), *George Eliot: the Critical Heritage*, pp.468-69.

[35] http://www.bartleby.com/309/1001.html. From "Criticisms and Interpretations By Frederic W. H. Myers" in George Eliot, *The Mill on the Floss*, The Harvard Classics Shelf of Fiction (1917).

[36] The original essay continues: "The subject of these pages would not tolerate any words which seemed to present her as an ideal type. For, as her aspect had greatness, but not beauty, so too her spirit had moral dignity but not saintly holiness." Ibid.

married eight months before her death and who wrote her biography, that there is any mention of "romance" (*ren'ai*) or "love" (*aijô*).

In presenting George Eliot as a celebrated novelist and an ideal woman, *Jogaku zasshi* downplays her role as a prominent literary critic. While Iwamoto, under one of his many pseudonyms Momiji, introduced her landmark critical essay "Silly Novels by Lady Novelists" (1856.10, *Westminster Review*), he does not mention her name nor the essay title, simply calling the essay "Onna shôsetsuka" (Women Novelists, 1889.3.9, *Jogaku zasshi*). Written before Eliot began to write her own fiction, the essay gives a sharp critique of both women writers and the institution of literary criticism at a time when women's writing was first beginning to be considered as professional writing. Locating fiction as one of the few areas where women can equal men in profession, Eliot chastises the current state of literary criticism that employs a double standard for women's writing, and calls for the necessity for fair criticism to improve the quality of women's writing.[37] While the essay was published at a time when George Eliot's identity was unknown and written assuming a distinct masculine authorship, Iwamoto introduces the essay from the later knowledge of Eliot as a woman writer. He therefore ends the essay with the quasi-apologetic statement pointing out the essay's female authorship: "Be not angry women writers, for this is the argument of a woman."[38] It is curious, however, that the essay is not attributed to Eliot, who is otherwise featured repeatedly throughout the issues of *Jogaku zasshi*. Her image as a scathing critic must have seemed contradictory to the magazine's vision of the ideal woman, and was thus kept separate from her identity as a female novelist.

[37] Although the citation is not given, Iwamoto paraphrases two sections from the essay: where Eliot criticizes bourgeois women who write without knowledge or consideration for the lower classes, and where Eliot calls for a more accurate type of literary criticism that does not condone trivial writing by women.
[38] 「之れ元と女性の議論なり、女性の作者方腹立てまいずや。」

In addition to George Eliot, Charlotte Bronte also comes to embody the ideal figure of womanhood, plain-faced and virtuous, in *Jogaku zasshi* and beyond. Her novel *Jane Eyre* (1847), featuring a plain-faced heroine, is celebrated in the March 12, 1887 issue of *Jogaku zasshi* as one of the three greatest works by women, along with Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) and George Eliot's *Adam Bede* (1859).[39] When Mizutani Futô (1858-1943) partially translated the novel, he gave the title *Risô no kajin* (Ideal Woman, 1896.7-12, *Bungei Kurabu*), echoing Iwamoto's phrase. In the preface to the translation, Futô explains that he chose the title not for the heroine's outward beauty or inherent virtue, but because Jane is presented, through the eyes of Mr. Rochester, as Charlotte Bronte's vision of the ideal woman that is suitable to Rochester in temperament (*kishitsu*) and taste (*kôshô*). Futô then goes on to equate the heroine with the author herself, emphasizing her plain yet elegant appearance: "While she has innate talent, her appearance is ordinary and far from beautiful. Yet, she is delicately built and refined, possessing a certain charm about her eyes."[40] According to the critic Linda Peterson, Charlotte came to be mythologized as the female version of Samuel Smiles' *Self-Help* (1859), becoming a model for women writers as a literary genius that rose to fame from an ordinary parsonage in an isolated Yorkshire village.[41] When we consider that *Self-Help* became a bestseller when published in Tokyo as Nakamura Masanao's translation *Saigoku risshihen*

[39] All three works were hugely popular at the time. Eliot had achieved critical and popular success with her first full-length novel *Adam Bede*, which marked the height of her career as a novelist. Stowe became an international celebrity with the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and was enthusiastically welcomed by the British and European reading public particularly after her transatlantic tour in 1853.

[40] *Meiji hon'yaku bungaku zenshû*, vol.5, p.128.「女史は天稟の才あれども、容貌は尋常にして美といふべからず、然れども身体小作にして上品なり、眼元にはまた一種の魔力を有す」

[41] Linda Peterson, *Becoming a Woman of Letters* (2009), p.149.

(1871), we may find further explanation as to why Charlotte Bronte came to embody an ideal woman figure in the popular imagination.[42]

How about, then, the ideal man? To answer this question, *Jogaku zasshi* presents an essay titled "Risô no shinshi" (Ideal Gentleman, 1888.9, *Jogaku zasshi*) by a woman named Sakurada Yukari. Because the ideal figure is one who complements the other sex, it seems only natural, in Iwamoto's logic, that a woman should address this question. Posing the question "What is an ideal gentleman?," Yukari describes him in a series of Chinese compound words: He must be robust and strong (*shintai kyôsô*), have strength of spirit (*kikotsu rintatsu*), have flawless frame (*kokkaku kanbi*), have rare courage (*tanryoku hibon*), have firmness of character (*gôki shicchoku*), be tolerant and gentle (*kandai onryô*), excel in both literary and military arts (*bunbu ryôtoku*), and so on.[43] Having given a long list of qualities, Yukari follows Iwamoto's logic and turns to Western women writers for depicting ideal male characters: Madame de Staël's *Delphine* (1802), Dinah Craik's (or Miss Mulock) *John Halifax, Gentleman* (1856), George Eliot's *Adam Bede* (1859) and *Felix Holt, the Radical* (1866), Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Aurora Leigh* (1864), and Frances Willard's *How to Win: A Book For Girls* (1886). Giving credit to these Western women for providing ideal images of manhood, Yukari ends the essay by calling out to her "fellow sisters" (*dôhô shimai*) of Japan to imagine these ideals in order to make these men

[42] Elizabeth Gaskell's biography *Life of Charlotte Bronte* (1857) had an immense impact on the reception of Charlotte after her death, presenting her as a tragic woman who devoted herself both to literary pursuits and to domestic life as a daughter and sister. See Joanne Wilkes, "Remaking the Canon" in Joanne Shattock (ed), *Women and Literature in Britain 1800-1900* (2001), p.42-3. *Jane Eyre* remained popular throughout the nineteenth century England through multiple editions and stage adaptations, overshadowing her sister Emily Bronte, who was later to surpass Charlotte and become one of Virginia Woolf's three noted women writers in *A Room of One's Own* (1929).

[43] Yukari continues that an ideal gentleman must have indignant lamentation over evils (*kôgai hisô*), be thoroughly prepared (*yôi shinmitsu*), consider matters carefully (*chinshi jukuryo*), be a hero (*eiyû*) in wartime and build and maintain (*shusei*) during times of peace, be taciturn (*chinmoku kagen*) and artless (*bokutotsu*) yet eloquent (*utsubotsu no ben*) when necessary, be contemplative and prudent (*shinchin jichô*), be decisive and resolute (*kadan kekkô*), be persevering and daring (*nintai kan'i*), be upright with a clean conscience (*keppaku seiren*), be both a saint (*seijin*) and a loyal retainer (*gishi*), and a wise man of virtue (*kunshi*) and a heroic warrior (*eiyû*).

appear in reality, so that they can together build a country of true gentlemen (*shinsei no shinshi-koku*) in the Orient.[44]

Women's Writing in *Jogaku Zasshi*

True to Iwamoto's advocacy of women's writing, *Jogaku zasshi* becomes a venue for women's cultural production, particularly from the late 1880s onward. One can see a special women writers supplement in the New Year issue of 1890, featuring Nakajima Shôen (1863-1901), Shimoda Utako (1854-1936), Miyake Kaho (1868-1944), Wakamatsu Shizuko (1864-96) and Atomi Kakei (1840-1926). This supplement includes an impressive variety of genres, from poetry to fiction to visual arts. Nakajima Shôen, a pioneering women's rights activist, presents a series of Sino-Japanese poetry (*kanshi*), while Shimoda Utako, a leading educator and founder of several women's higher schools, presents a series of Japanese poetry (*waka*). These are followed by two types of prose: Miyake Kaho presents a short story, while Wakamatsu Shizuko presents an adapted translation of Adelaide Anne Procter's poem *The Sailor Boy* in prose narrative form. Atomi Kakei, who is a calligrapher, painter, and founder of the Atomi Women's School (founded in 1875), graces the inside cover with a drawing of a young woman dressed in kimono and holding a *hagoita* paddle, marking a celebratory image of the New Year. That this special supplementary issue was Iwamoto's brainchild is evident from Utako's statement that Iwamoto had solicited her work for the New Year issue.

Another one of Iwamoto's ventures to showcase women writers is a series of questionnaires in March and April of 1890, featuring Koganei Kimiko (1870-1956), Kimura Akebono (1872-90), Wakamatsu Shizuko, Sasaki Masako and Miyake Kaho. To these women, Iwamoto posed the following questions:

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[44] 「何如に、日本国に居ます二千余万同胞姉妹の方々よ、若しも茲に申すが真理にて候わば、何卒向后、斯くの通りに理想し、お互ひの理想によって立派なる君子を出現せしめ、此の東洋に真正の紳士国を打立てたく候はずや。」

1. Why you came to write novels and your experience thereof.
2. Your ideals, wishes or opinions regarding novels.
3. Your favorite novels.
4. Your views on novels or literature today.

Out of the five women, Wakamatsu Shizuko's response (1890.4.5) is the most substantial and articulates her philosophy on the relationship between women and literary production. Shizuko, who married Iwamoto in 1889, was the most prominent translator in the magazine in the 1890s.[45] By the time Iwamoto conducted the survey, she had contributed some short fiction and English poems, and had just finished serializing Alfred Tennyson's *Enoch Arden* (1890.1-3, *Jogaku zasshi*). Shizuko also figures as the authority on Western literature, introducing writers and works that are deemed suitable for women's reading, particularly of female authorship.[46] Echoing Iwamoto's philosophy on women and novels, Shizuko states in response to the survey that literature should have a higher moral purpose, and that women can contribute to literature by imbuing it with a sense of justice and nobility. Rather than simply depicting things as they are, the author must take a clear stance and guide the reader to distinguish between good and bad, so that the work will ultimately have a cleansing effect on society. Those who do not have these

[45] Her translations and adaptations include works by Frances Burnett (1849-1924), Alfred Tennyson (1809-1892), Adelaide Anne Procter (1825-1864) and Jean Ingelow (1820-1897). Her English poems are written in the manner of Victorian poetry, such as her poem titled "In Memorian" after Tennyson.

[46] As early as October 1886, she presents the following list of works by women, as well as some by men: (I have corrected the obvious spelling mistakes)

1. *Felix Holt*; *Scenes of Clerical Life*; *Silas Marner*; *Adam Bede*. By George Eliot
2. *Ivanhoe*; *Kenilworth*; *Monastery*; *Abbot*. By Walter Scott
3. *A Brave Lady*; *King Arthur*; *A Noble Life*; *My Mother and I*. By Miss Mulock
4. *Little Women*; *Little Men*; *Shiloh*. By Miss Alcott
5. *The Flowers of the Family*; *Stepping Heavenward*. By Mrs. Prentiss
6. *The Wide, Wide World*; *Queechy*. By Miss Wetherell
7. *All Sorts and Conditions of Men*. Besant & Rice
8. *Blue Beard's Keys*; *Old Kensington*; *Da capo*. By Miss Thackeray
9. *Christmas Stories*; *Bleak House*; *Dombey and Son*; *The Old Curiosity Shop*. Dickens
10. *The Last Days of Pompeii*. Bulwer
11. *Strange Adventures of a Phaeton*. Black
12. *Little Classics* (6 volumes); *St. Nicholas*

Aside from George Eliot, all of the women – Miss Mulock (Dinah Maria Craik), Miss Alcott (Louisa May Alcott), Mrs. Prentiss (Elizabeth Prentiss), Miss Wetherell (Susan Warner) and Miss Thackeray (Anne Thackeray Ritchie) – are known for their works catered to young adults or children.

higher aspirations, she argues, should not dabble in literature. Her hope is to write an ideal type of novel that benefits the younger generation of women, whom she calls her "sisters" (*imouto*). While Shizuko's rhetoric fully resonates with Iwamoto's, she also takes her own angle in highlighting the dimension of children's education. She likens literature to children's toys; while toys have no value in themselves, they are beneficial in educating children, which eventually leads to social progress. Shizuko's translation of Frances Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1890.8-1892.1, *Jogaku zasshi*) played a pioneering role in the flourishing of children's literature as a separate literary genre in Japan.

Jogaku zasshi's contribution to the emergence of women's writing in Meiji Japan is well documented by Rebecca Copeland's *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan* (2000). In addition to Wakamatsu Shizuko, Miyake Kaho also became a regular contributor to the magazine, and her novel *Yabu no uguisu* (The Warbler in the Grove, 1888) is now generally regarded as the first work by a woman to be published by a major publishing house. Inspired by her experience at Tokyo Higher School for Women (Tokyo Kôtô Jogakkô), the novella's comic parody of contemporary society and its frenzy for westernization fit in perfectly with the philosophy of the magazine. In "Jogaku no kai" (Understanding *jogaku*, 1888.5.26), Iwamoto criticizes the frivolous fads for westernization, from clothing, shoes and corsets, to social manners such as handshaking and ballroom dancing, as exemplified by the western style balls held at Rokumeikan. He also notes with disapproval the newly imported words "kiss," "engagement," and "honeymoon," all written in *katakana* form to emphasize their foreign origin.[47] In June 1888 of *Jogaku zasshi*, there appears a review of Kaho's *Yabu no uguisu* that gives a reading of the novel as a warning towards such superficial fads, endorsing instead the female virtues of

[47] 「故に、舞踏は鹿鳴館に盛んなり、交際会は所々に起これり、洋服も、靴も、コーセットも、握手も、キッスも、エンゲージメントも、ハネームーンも、今や追 々と日本国内に流行せり。」

elegance and gentleness. Aligning Kaho with the philosophy of the magazine, the reviewer expresses the hope that the author will go beyond satire and continue to aim for refinement, learning from European women writers such as George Eliot and Madame de Staël. Furthermore, the advertisement for the novel (which appeared in the same issue) emphasizes the female authorship of the work, but not without indicating its endorsement by Tsubouchi Shôyô, Kaho's mentor and one of the founding fathers of the modern novel.

Another important figure in *Jogaku zasshi* is Shimizu Shikin (1867-1933), who advocated women's rights and education by making public speeches in Kyoto and Osaka before coming to Tokyo to work as an editor and journalist for the magazine from 1890 onwards. Through her writing, Shikin actively voiced her opinions on issues such as women's education, suffrage, monogamy, and the reform of marriage. Shikin's debut story "Koware yubiwa" (Broken Ring, 1891.1, *Jogaku zasshi*) expresses these concerns in fictional form, told in a first person narrative in a confessional tone and addressed to the second person "you" (*anata*). The intimate narrative voice creates a shared world between the writer and the fellow women readers of *Jogaku zasshi*, creating a community of readership for the magazine that advocated women's social advancement. In the story, the narrator recounts her upbringing and failure in marriage from a more enlightened perspective, two years after her divorce from her husband. As an ignorant girl from the countryside brought up in an old-fashioned Confucian education, the narrator was forced into a marriage at 18 years old; when her husband starts spending nights away from home, she becomes disillusioned with the marriage. The story recounts the process of her enlightenment through reading books and magazines on women's rights (such as *Jogaku zasshi*, in which the story was published), which eventually leads to the decision of her divorce.

Reflecting the ideologies of *Jogaku zasshi* and its founder Iwamoto Yoshiharu, "Koware yubiwa" is a call for women's education that will awaken women to seek a modern form of marriage based on love and mutual understanding. Shikin's intimate voice gives encouragement and warning to the magazine's readers, presumably educated like the author herself, as they face reality after graduating from the ivory tower of women's schools. As exemplified by Shikin's story, new ideas surrounding marriage and education become key topics in women's writing of this period, often in contrast to the Confucian teachings of the past. While the women are often depicted as unhappy in their marriage, their unhappiness stems from the fact that their husbands do not offer them a proper Home that they are meant to rule. The difference between these Meiji writers and subsequent feminists is that for these women, Home still functions as the ideal. The women in the Taisho period, as represented by the powerful figure of Ibsen's heroine Nora, begin to seek self-fulfillment outside the home.

Higuchi Ichiyô and the Emergence of Professional Writing in Modern Japan

As I have shown, *Jogaku zasshi* played an important role in the introduction of Western women writers and the emergence of Japanese women's writing in the mid-Meiji period. While the numbers were small, the enthusiasm for women's writing in the 1890s can be witnessed in the special "lady writers" issue (*keishû sakka gô*, 1895.12) of the newly established literary journal *Bungei kurabu* (Literary Arts Club, 1895.1-1933.1), published by the major publishing house Hakubunkan. Accompanied by photographs of some of the featured women, the issue proved to be such a commercial success that the initial printing of 30,000 copies sold out in a matter of days.[48] Among the increasing number of women who were beginning to write fiction, Higuchi Ichiyô (1872-96) emerges as an important female writer who achieved a canonical status during

[48] For a discussion of the controversial use of photographs of the featured women writers in the "lady writers" issue of *Bungei kurabu*, see Kôno Kensuke's *Shomotsu no kindai* (1992).

her lifetime and increasingly after her death. Ichiyô's "Jûsan'ya" (Thirteenth Night) and "Yamiyo" (Dark Night, reprinted from *Bungakukai*, 1894.7-11) were featured in the special issue alongside works by ten other contemporary women including Miyake Kaho and Wakamatsu Shizuko.[49] Following this success, *Bungei kurabu* came out with another "lady writers" issue thirteen months later, which included Ichiyô's "Utsusemi" (Cicada Shell, 1897.1).

Ichiyô came to be greatly admired by the male literary intellectuals of her day as a distinguished woman writer, particularly following the series of publications in *Bungei kurabu*. She became somewhat of a muse figure for the writers of *Bungakukai* (Literary World, 1893.1-98.1), a literary journal that branched off of *Jogaku zasshi* and became the ground for Japanese Romanticism based on Christian faith. The six founding members were Hoshino Tenchi (1862-1950), Hoshino Sekiei (1869-1924), Kitamura Tôkoku (1868-94), Shimazaki Tôson (1872-1943), Hirata Tokuboku (1873-1943) and Togawa Shûkotsu (1870-1939), and new members such as Baba Kochô (1869-1940) and Ueda Bin (1874-1916) also joined the group. Ichiyô's diary records the various letter exchanges and visits paid to her by these literary men, as well as shows concern for the critical reception of her works. In the May 2nd 1896 entry, Ichiyô expresses her ambivalence regarding her success, and about being a woman in a male-dominant literary world:

> Of all the visitors I receive, nine out of ten come merely out of curiosity, because they find it amusing that I am a woman. That is why they praise and congratulate me as a "modern Sei Shônagon" or a "modern Murasaki Shikibu," even when I only produce scratch paper. They do not have enough insight to fathom my deepest thoughts, and they only delight in the fact that I am a woman writer… Can they not see any flaws in my work to criticize?[50] (*SNKBT*24, 488)

[49] The ten women featured in the issue were Nakajima Utako, Miyake Kaho, Wakamatsu Shizuko, Kitada Usurai, Ôtsuka Kusuoko, "Kazashi no hana," "Yukari," Tazawa Inabune, Fujishima Yukiko, Ishigure Wakako, Koganei Kimiko, and Takeya Masako.

[50] *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei, Meiji-hen 24: Higuchi Ichiyô hen* (abbreviated as *SNKBT*24). The translation is taken from Kyôko Omori's translation in *The Modern Murasaki: Writing by Women of Meiji Japan* (2006), p.147.

This passage reveals Ichiyô's unease towards her position as a woman writer, as she questions part of her success as owing to her gender. Ichiyô's entry gives insight into the great interest surrounding women writers during this time, and her concern that it may be a momentary and superficial fad. While for many women writers of the period this transience was indeed true, Ichiyô's reputation as a writer did not follow the same fate, as I will discuss in Chapter Two.

While Ichiyô later became canonized as an exceptional woman writer of the period, a close reading of her works shows that they resonate with contemporary themes and issues shared not only by male reformers such as Iwamoto Yoshiharu, but also by other women writers of her day. While Ichiyô's nuanced narratives question the idealism of her contemporaries that are invested in promoting women's social advancement, her works give a poignant social critique by exposing the anxieties and sufferings of characters caught between the changing times, giving a glimpse of the burgeoning modern individuality in late 19th century Japan.

"Jûsan'ya" (Thirteenth Night, 1895.12, *Bungei kurabu*)

As the work that was featured in *Bungei kurabu*'s special "lady writers" issue, "Jûsan'ya" takes up the themes of marriage and women's education that resonate with the concerns of her contemporary female writers. While Shimizu Shikin's "Koware yubiwa" had a clear message and audience, delivered in a first-person narrative voice to the reader of *Jogaku zasshi*, Ichiyô's work is characteristically polyphonic, including various forms of speech in the flow of a sustained narrative voice. Through the layering of dialogue and interior monologue, Ichiyô poignantly portrays the suffering and determination of her various characters, evoking a social critique by exploring fundamental issues of class and gender hierarchies.

"Jûsan'ya" begins as the heroine Oseki slips away from her husband's home on a moonlit night and visits her parents' house to ask permission for a divorce. Failing in marriage, the only

option open to a woman is to hope that her parents would take her back as a daughter. As Oseki stands outside of their door, the story plunges right into her inner turmoil as she goes over in her mind the consequences of the divorce for her parents, brother and son. When her father finds her outside, however, she immediately puts on a smile and performs the part of the dutiful daughter.

It becomes clear from her mother's words that her family had benefited from Oseki's marriage, which was a source of pride for her parents and had helped her younger brother advance in his career. The narrative reveals the irony of the notion of "*shusse*," an advancement in social position that was an important ideal in the Meiji period. Through her marriage to a man above her class, Oseki had achieved the female version of *shusse*; yet, as the narrative reveals, class power structure is clearly embedded in what appears to be a marriage that was based on modern notions of love that transcends class barriers. Her mother reminds her that she had been a "loved wife" (*koi nyôbô*), that her husband Harada had pursued her despite their class difference. Yet, while the man of higher status is free to pursue a relationship beyond class boundaries, the woman of lower status has no legal rights to protect her position when she has fallen out of his favor.

When Oseki finally gathers the courage to confess her unhappiness due to years of her husband's mistreatment, her mother responds emotionally and tells her to come home at once. Hearing her story with sympathy and understanding, however, Oseki's father nonetheless urges her to sacrifice herself for her family and child, reminding her that there will be no happiness in her returning home. Hearing these words, Oseki realizes that the wish for self-recognition and fulfillment through marriage was an impossible aspiration for someone of her class, and determines to relinquish the self in order to fulfill her filial duties for the sake of the larger realm of kinship. The choices available to her as a woman are only roles in relation to the family;

Oseki is repeatedly, and can only be, referred to as "Harada's wife," "Tarô's mother," and "Saitô's daughter." Realizing this, Oseki declares that she will consider herself dead; that her "soul" (*tamashii*) will protect her child while her "body" (*karada*) will be given to her husband. This rupture between body and soul is her only rebellion against social expectations and norms.

In addition to class, a central issue that emerges in "Jûsan'ya" is that of women's education. Oseki laments that part of her husband's scorn is caused by her lack of education, which differentiates her from those women bred in *Kazoku jogakkô* (Higher School for the Nobility), founded in 1885 for educating girls from aristocratic families. In fact, it is telling that her husband begins to shun Oseki after she gives birth to a son, which suggests that his disappointment in Oseki comes from her failure to fulfill the role of the "wise mother" (*kenbo*), of educating children which was an important element of women's education. Coming from a lower class background, Oseki neither had the privilege to receive post-primary education nor obtain lady-like accomplishments such as tea ceremony, flower arrangement, poetry and painting. "Jûsan'ya" poignantly illuminates the inequalities of class, but also gives a glimpse into the burgeoning of women's education in late nineteenth century Japan.

While the story appears on the surface to be about the defeat of an individual woman against various social hierarchies, the heightened sense of tragedy invites the readers to question the values that force the heroine to make the choice of self-renunciation. The introduction of the new character of Rokunosuke in the second half of the story, furthermore, adds another tragic dimension that further speaks to the issue of class. Rokunosuke had been the son of a tobacco shop, and after Oseki's sudden marriage to another, had wasted away his life. The unexpected reunion with her childhood sweetheart, now a rickshaw driver, not only recalls the innocent stage of childhood before they became incorporated into social realities, but also points to the tragedy

of family life from a man's perspective. The glimpse into Rokunosuke's failed marriage also hints at the grief of yet another woman who is sent back to her parents and loses her child in death. In "Jûsan'ya," as in many of Ichiyô's works, there is no clear villain; everyone is the cause of another's suffering despite one's motivations. Oseki's father asks Oseki to renounce her individual happiness for the sake of the family; Oseki's marriage results in the downfall of Rokunosuke; Rokunosuke's broken heart results in his financial ruin and the suffering of his wife and child. The problem lies not in any individual but in society.

The height of Ichiyô's career coincided with the emergence of Hakubunkan as a looming figure in the publishing industry, particularly with the founding of three major journals in 1895: *Taiyô* (The Sun, 1895.1-1928.3), *Shônen sekai* (Boy's World, 1895.1-1934.1) and *Bungei kurabu* (Literary Arts Club, 1895.1-1933.1). As I have shown, *Bungei kurabu* became especially instrumental in Ichiyô's success during her lifetime, publishing some of her most important works including "Nigorie" (Troubled Waters, 1895.9), "Jûsan'ya" (Thirteenth Night, 1895.12), "Yamiyo (Dark night, 1895.12), and "Takekurabe" (Growing Up, 1896.4). While the latter two stories were originally serialized in *Bungakukai*, it was only after they were reprinted in *Bungei kurabu* that they reached a wide audience. With its extensive network of circulation throughout the country, Hakubunkan played a significant role in the expansion of the publishing industry in the following years, and these changes were to have fundamental impact on the status of literature and writers in modern Japan.

Women's Higher Education: Naruse Jinzô and Japan Women's College

It was after Japan's victory of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) in the new surge of nationalism that the government began to direct more attention to women's education. The Women's Higher School Edict (*Kôtô jogakkô rei*) in 1899 officially established a system to

provide a four-year secondary education for women (the equivalent of the men's middle school), further establishing separate education for the sexes. Furthermore, the Meiji Civil Code passed in 1898 seemed like a backward turn to feudal ideology, applying the samurai warrior class family system across the new nation. Giving precedence to the household over the individual, the new code envisioned a patriarchal society where power is passed down from the father to the eldest son and women are subordinated to the male head of household. With this conservative turn, the ideology of "good wife, wise mother" (*ryosai kenbo*) gained status as the official gender ideal of the nation. This ideal, undeniably for the expanding middle class, became the new goal of womanhood for the industrializing modern nation-state, and the guiding principle for government policy on women's education at the turn-of-the-century.

Following the 1899 Women's Higher School Edict, there emerged a number of private, non-missionary institutions offering higher education for women.[51] Tsuda School (Tsuda Juku) was one of the first of these institutions, founded in 1900 by Tsuda Umeko (1864-1929) who was one of the first Japanese women to study in the United States in the 1870s.[52] The first large-scale institution for women's higher education was Japan Women's College (Nihon Joshi Daigakkô), founded in 1901 by Naruse Jinzô (1858-1919). Naruse had traveled to the United States in 1890 to study sociology, religion and education at Andover Theological Seminary and Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts. It was an important moment in American history for women's higher education, and Naruse returned to Japan in 1894 with the plan to create a higher institution for women in Japan. With the support of influential and wealthy political and

[51] As anti-Christian sentiment intensified in the 1890s, the Ministry of Education made successive legislative actions to increase control of women's education, which led to the eventual decline of missionary schools.
[52] The Japanese government sent five young girls, including Umeko (age seven), to the United States in 1871 to be educated for ten years on government scholarship as part of the Iwakura mission, a diplomatic and study mission headed by Iwakura Tonomi, a major figure in the Meiji Restoration.

financial leaders of the time, including the Mitsui family who donated the land upon which to build the college, Naruse founded Japan Women's College in Mejiro in 1901 with 510 students.

Alongside the various developments in the Meiji education system, progressive educators continued to promote new ideals of womanhood that sought to elevate the status women as enlightened citizens of the modern nation-state. Naruse's ideas about women's education were based on new ideals of womanhood that resonated with Iwamoto Yoshiharu's vision in *Jogaku zasshi*. Naruse's diary during his stay with Reverend Horace H. Leavitt's family in Andover, Massachusetts reveals how the ideal of the Home was crucial to his thoughts on Japanese women's education, which motivated his ambition to build a women's college. In the January 13th 1891 entry, Naruse notes his definition of the Home after a discussion with Reverend Leavitt: "It's elements are the "love and respect" between husband and wife. Home [*ho-mu*] is the "sphere" of the wife" (*NJD40*, 14).[53] Rather than a master-servant relationship of the Japanese feudal *ie* system, the western notion of the Home is a domestic sphere reigned by women based on "love and respect," as he notes in the original English.

In *Nihon Joshi Daigakkô yonjû-nen shi* (Forty Years of Japan Women's College), published by the college in 1942, Naruse's ambition to create an institution for women's higher education is clearly distinguished from the Confucian view of women's education. Aware of Japan's position in the international context, particularly after Japan's victory over China in the Sino-Japanese War, Naruse sought the model of women's education in the United States. The book recognizes Naruse's conversion to Christianity as the crucial factor in his educational philosophy, leading him to place importance on women's "spirituality" (*reisei*), which makes them suitable for their role in reforming society. In the 1896 prospectus for gathering funds for

[53] *Nihon Joshi Daigakkô yonjû-nen shi* (1942) (abbreviated as *NJD40*).
「レビット氏と吾目的に付いて語り、ホームのこと共語合ひ益を得しこと少なからず。夫婦の間 愛と尊敬 love and respect 此其要素也。妻君の範囲 (sphere)はホーム也」

the founding of the school, Naruse clearly states his goal to educate the female student as a "person" (*hito*), as a "woman" (*fujin*), and as a "citizen" (*kokumin*).[54] As the third goal shows, Naruse's ideas about women's education come hand in hand with the rhetoric of the nation. Although the *ryôsai kenbo* ideal is based on the idea of woman's place within the Home, this notion of the Home was broadened to connote a national space.

The concept of citizenship is thus clearly embedded in Naruse's ideal of the Home, in which men will be restored from the hardships of society and children will be raised as good citizens. Naruse's vision of women as homemakers is clearly not limited to the actual space of domestic home, but extends to all of society as citizens of the modern nation-state, for which Naruse himself is also a vehicle. In a diary entry on January 18th 1891, Naruse declares his "lifework" (*tenshoku*) to be linked to the larger aim of creating an "ideal society":

> My objective is to fulfill my lifework [*tenshoku*]. My lifework is to enlighten women, to lead them into virtue, to convey power, knowledge, and expertise, to help women create an ideal Home [*aidearu ho-mu*], to strengthen human feeling, to enrich the country, to love the home, to make people happy, to save the poor from illness, to help people attain eternal life, to eliminate sin, and to create an ideal society.[55] (*NJD40*, 15-16)

As this passage shows, Naruse's mission to reform women is directly related to the reform of society. In another passage, Naruse writes that his lifework is "not to become a teacher, nor a priest, nor a scholar. It is to be a reformer of society, a leader of women, an advisor for fathers and mothers, a founder of an institution, a person who will stimulate people's minds" (*NJD40*, 15).[56] These passages show that women's education was not a goal in and of itself, but a means to recreate society in the shape of ideal Home, which connotes a national space in which women

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[54] *Nihon Joshi Daigaku gakuen jiten: Sôritsu hyaku-nen no kiseki* (2001), p.7. (abbreviated as *NJD100*).
[55] 「吾目的は吾天職を終るにあり。吾天職は婦人を高め、徳に進ませ、力と知識 練達を興へ、アイデアルホームを造らせ、人情を敦(く)し、国を富し、家を愛し、人を幸にし、病より貧を救ひ、永遠の生命を得させ、罪を亡ぼし、理想的社会を作るにあり。」
[56] 「教員にあらず牧師にあらず、学者にあらず。社会改良者なり、女子指導者なり、父母の相談相手也、創業者なり、人心興憤者也」

play essential parts as citizens of a modern nation-state. Naruse envisioned that women should pursue their "lifework" and give back their education to society, not only as homemakers but also as social reformers and professionals.

Naruse's vision of the Home as a ground for social reform translated into the actual architectural planning of the college, particularly in the organization of the dormitory.[57] The dormitory was conceived as an important part of the education as a model for the ideal Home, in which the dormitory dean (*ryôkan*) takes the role of the mother and students replicate the relationship of siblings. Positioning the dormitory as a "transitional space between home and society," Naruse envisions it as a "place of spiritual training and study, as well as of experiment in lifestyle" (*NJD100*, 332).[58] Each dorm would have a dormitory dean, twenty students, and a "maid" to help out, each member taking charge of an aspect of dormitory life. Particular importance is placed on the dormitory dean, who must be a "lady of high virtues" (*yûtoku no fujin*) that governs the Home with her good influence. With only a few general regulations concerning matters from interior decoration to food, it would be up to the students to decide the rules and financial allocations for their own unique community. Naruse envisioned that this dormitory life encapsulating the spirit of the ideal Home would nurture responsibility, discipline, volunteer spirit and sorority among the female students.

The flower garden also played an important part in the conceptualization of the school. Naruse's notes show that special attention was given to the effects of gardening and plant

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[57] Dormitories had already been a topic of debate since the mid-1880s. Responding to the criticism of dormitories as being harmful to women, Iwamoto advocated the implementation of dormitories as essential for women's education, arguing that it would be regressive for women to go back to the old traditions in their family homes while the school provide an arts education based on western civilization. In addition to the arts education that the school provides, dormitories would educate women into becoming "good wife, wise mothers," training them in the domestic areas of interior decoration, cooking, sewing, calculating accounts, receiving guests, nursing the sick, and so on. Iwamoto Yoshiharu, "Jogakkô no kishukusha" (Dormitories in Women's Schools, 1887.2.5, *Jogaku zasshi*).

[58] 「家庭より社会生活に移行する中間」「精神修養、勉学の場所であり、同時に生活法の実験研究の場所」

observation, as well as the aesthetic benefits of flowers. The school catalogue describes the garden, named Ôkuma Garden after the benefactor's name, as follows:

> With the circular flowerbed in the center, there are multiple fan-shaped flowerbeds surrounding it, with small paths crossing through them. How refreshing and pleasant it would be to wander through the garden in an early spring morning or an autumn evening, among the various flowers in full bloom, or the rare and fragrant plants.[59] (*NJD40*, 83)

This passage shows how the flower garden was to have an important part in the cultivation of aesthetics and sensibilities of the students who reside there. With the Home reigned by the mother figure and the garden filled with her children, Naruse envisions the college to become a model for the ideal Home.

Naruse's choice of the school name – Japan Women's College – shows his awareness of Japan as a rising nation in the international context, and his view of Japanese women's education within the wider context of Europe and America. In the 1896 prospectus, Naruse emphasizes the necessity of creating a unique curriculum for "Japanese women" (*Nihon fujin*):

> Women too, are subjects of the nation. Therefore, we must instill in them the notion of citizenship, the yearning for a clear national consciousness, the characteristics of Japanese women that are distinct from the women of England, America, Germany, or France, as well as the qualifications of becoming national citizens.[60] (*NJD40*, 40)

Naruse's venture did gain interest overseas, and was reported by *The New York Evening Post* in September 1900 as one of the two new women's colleges that were being founded around the world. The article reports as follows:

> Two New Colleges for Women
> News comes from the widely separated countries of Japan and Central America of initial work for the higher education of women. In both countries the leaders in the movement are men.
> Mr. J. Naruse has been working on the idea of a university for women in Japan for several years. He made an uphill fight, but has finally succeeded in interesting many of the rich, and

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[59] 「円形の花壇を中心として幾多扇形の花壇之を廻り、其間縦横に小径を通ず。異花爛漫、珍卉馥郁、花朝月夕、其間に逍遙す、清快それ幾許ぞ」

[60] 「夫れ女子も亦国家の臣民なり。宜しく国民たるの観念を興へ、明晰なる国家的意識を懐かしめ、英米独仏の女子に非ずして日本婦人としての特性を備へしめ、且国民たるの資格を授け」

> powerful men of the empire. Marquis Ito has subscribed largely, and his example has been followed by other officials.
> The Mitsui family, said to be the richest in Japan, has given a magnificent site in the richest east suburb of Tokyo. There are seven acres in the plot, and little change will have to be made to give the new university as fine a campus as any in the empire. Sufficient subscriptions and gifts have been received to warrant lasting building contracts, and active work upon them will begin this month. It is expected that the university can be opened in April, 1901 and there seems no doubt that the number of students will be large, although higher education for Japanese women is an innovation. Mr. Naruse has been nominated for president, and probably will be elected. Some of the brightest educators Japan has procured will be in the faculty. It is intended that the best features of colleges for women in other countries shall be used in Japan's first ventures.[61] (*NJD40*, 67-8)

The repeated term "empire" shows Japan's heightened position in the international sphere after its victory in the Sino-Japanese War. This article underscores the fact that Naruse's venture to give higher education to women is part of modern nation-state building, made possible only by the funding and generosity of the "rich, and powerful men of the empire."

Japan Women's College opened on April 20th 1901 to 510 students, spread across various departments and affiliated courses as follows: 84 students in the Home Economics department, 91 students in the Japanese Literature department, 10 students in the English Literature department, as well as 37 students in the English Language Preparatory Course and 288 students in the affiliated Women's Higher School (*kôtô jogakkô*).[62] All three departments had a required course of Practical Ethics taught by Naruse himself, who envisioned the course to embody the core educational essence of the school. Also required across the three departments were courses in Psychology, Pedagogy and Physical Education. The Japanese and English departments further shared the curriculum of Aesthetics, Philosophy and History in the first year, and practical subjects such as Nursing, Practical Sociology, Family Education, and the study of Children and Children's Stories in the second and third years. Home Economics was a new discipline appearing in Japan for the first time, and the curriculum consisted of a variety of

[61] Reprinted in *Nihon Joshi Daigakkô yonjû-nen shi* (1942). I have corrected the typos.
[62] Ibid, p.82.

courses including Physiology, Hygienics, Sitology, Horticulture, Women's Health, Domestic Management, Home Economics, Nursing, and Domestic Arts.[63] According to the *Forty Years of Japan Women's College*, the first graduate of Home Economics Inoue Hideko was sent to New York to study at the Teachers College of Columbia University in 1908. Having researched the methodologies and organizations of the discipline at Columbia and other notable institutions in the U.S. and England, Inoue Hideko returned to Japan Women's College in 1910 and added a series of theoretical and applied courses in household management (*kaji*) to the curriculum, as well as implemented the offering of teacher's licenses to the graduates of the department.[64]

Among the novelties in Naruse's curriculum was also Physical Education, and the annual Athletic Meet became a famous event attracting a huge audience. The first Athletic Meet took place on October 1901, held only among 500 people affiliated with the school. The second year attracted over 1,200 people, the third year 5,000 people, and in the fourth year, over 8,000 people came to witness the event.[65] Various media reported on these events where people gathered to see women engaging not only in recreational sports, but also in competitive sports such as tennis, baseball, croquet, hockey, basketball, and jump rope. The most talked-about sport of all was the bicycling contest, which, despite being thought of as unsuitable for women, became the most popular attraction. Naruse had introduced this sport to the college after witnessing the popularity of cycling in the U.S., where bicycles became affordable to people across classes in the 1890s. Modern critic Kawamoto Shizuko illustrates how cycling quickly became incorporated into the discourse of the New Woman, functioning as a symbol of freedom and independence particularly for unmarried middle-class women.[66] Kawamoto's quotation of Sally Mitchell's study shows

[63] Ibid, p.75-79.
[64] Ibid, p.157.
[65] Ibid, p.87.
[66] Kawamoto Shizuko, *Atarashii onnatachi no seikimatsu* (1999).

how the bicycle became essential to the image of the New Woman in the popular imagination: "The archetypal New Woman image is a healthy young person in dark skirt and white shirt standing beside the bicycle that gave her freedom to travel independently in town or country."[67]

This image of the woman on the bicycle would appear in Tamura Toshiko's novella *Akirame* (Resignation, 1911.7), which I will discuss in Chapter One. The protagonist of the novella gazes at the foreign English teacher "Mrs. Smith," riding away from the campus gate (modeled after Japan Women's College) on a bicycle in her light blue skirt and white shirt, her curly blond hair popping out of her hat. This description evokes the typical New Woman figure that proliferated in England and the U.S. at the turn of the century. *Forty Years of Japan Women's College* indeed records many foreign female names in its list of teachers, both married and unmarried: "Miss Green" and "Mrs. Leonard" teaching English, "Mrs. Bradbury" teaching western cooking, and so on. These women are presumably graduates of the various women's colleges that were founded in Europe and North America in the mid to late 19th century, such as the Seven Sisters in the U.S. (founded between 1837 and 1889), or Girton College (founded 1869) and Newnham College (founded 1871) of the University of Cambridge in England.

Japan Women's College played an important role in educating women from its founding, and many of the writers that I examine in the following chapters attended the college. Tamura Toshiko (1884-1945) enrolled in the college the year it was founded (Japanese Literature, 1901), along with Omura Kayoko (1883-1953) (Japanese Literature, 1901-4) who became one of the first female playwrights. Other women who would become central to Japanese feminism joined the school soon after, including Hiratsuka Raichô (1886-1971) (Home Economics, 1903-6) and Kiuchi Tei (1887-1919) (Japanese Literature, 1904-7). Inspired by the first generation of women who attended the college, the 1910s saw the enrollment of the next generation of literary women

[67] Sally Mitchell, *The New Girl: Girls' Culture in England 1880-1915* (1995), p.100.

such as Yuasa Yoshiko (1896-1990) (English Literature, 1913), Itagaki Naoko (1896-1977) (English Literature, 1914-18), Miyamoto Yuriko (1899-1951) (English Literature, 1916) and Osaki Midori (1896-1971) (Japanese Literature, 1919-20). While Japan Women's College was instrumental to the development of women's writing, as the list shows, higher education was not necessarily compatible with a literary career for either generation; whether by force or by choice, Tamura Toshiko, Miyamoto Yuriko and Osaki Midori were all compelled to resign from the college soon after their works were published in major venues. Yet, the college nonetheless provided an invaluable space for young women to form connections and lasting friendships that would become crucial to their literary careers later on in their lives.

Journalism and the Field of Literature: The Production of Professional Writers in Modern Japan

In June of 1912, just one month before the end of the Meiji period, a prominent literary critic, translator and novelist Uchida Roan (1868-1929) published an essay titled, "Nijûgo-nenkan no bunjin no shakai-teki chii no shinpo" (The Progress of the Social Status of Literary Men in the Past Twenty-Five Years, 1912.6) in Hakubunkan's influential general interest magazine *Taiyô*. The essay reflects upon how the social status of literature and writers has risen in the last twenty-five years of Meiji, positing the publication of Tsubouchi Shôyô's *Shôsetsu shinzui* (The Essence of the Novel, 1885-86) as the beginning of the so-called modern Japanese literature. In the early stages, Roan argues, literature was simply considered a non-commercial activity, a "leisurely past-time" (*kan'yo no yûgi*). Writers of the Ken'yûsha group led by Ozaki Kôyô even took pride in themselves as "people of leisure" (*yûmin*), and their works often took the form of social satire to reflect a self-conscious distance from society. Roan points to the momentous shift in this commonly accepted notion of literature when the major publishing

company Hakubunkan transformed journalism by turning the publication of journals into a "business," in which writers were for the first time substantially paid. This economic exchange transformed writers into "professionals," who could become financially independent through their pens alone. Using English loan words such as "business" (*bijinesu*) and "professional" (*purofesshonaru*) to describe the new commercial form of Japan's cultural production, Roan celebrates the "progress of literary arts in Japan" (*Nihon no bungei no shinpo*). Positing economic independence as a key factor in gaining a place in "society" (*shakai*) and contributing to "civilization" (*bunmei*), Roan locates this new economic structure as the key for writers to secure a place in society for the first time at the end of the Meiji period.

What drives the language of Roan's essay is the notion of social progress, based on the Enlightenment belief in human rationality that dominated the European liberal intellectual sphere during the mid-19th century. Herbert Spencer's social evolutionism, which applied Darwin's evolution theory to the social realm, became particularly influential among early Meiji intellectuals, who emphasized the progress of Japanese national literature as closely related to Japan's emerging status as a modern nation-state among Western nations. Furthermore, what frames Roan's analysis of the rising status of literature and writers is the acknowledgment of Japan's victory in two major wars against China and Russia, which raised the image of the country to a first-class level within the international order. With this background, Roan's aspiration is to cultivate a literary tradition that will raise Japan's status in the realm of culture, along with the political status that Japan has recently gained. Thus, Roan calls out to future writers to gain awareness of their new advanced social status as professional writers, and to produce literature that is relevant to society at large. He writes: "Literary men [*bunjin*] of today onwards, whose subject is life [*jinsei*] and society [*shakai*], cannot, like poets of the past, bury

themselves in the mountains. They must live in the city and become part of the crowd [*gunshû*], making direct contact with his own era."[68] The once solitary recluse poets are here transformed into modern "literary men" (*bunjin*) who have a firm place within society that thrives in a modern city. It is not only enough to make detached observations, but to actively engage with the city and crowd, confronting changes and becoming the vanguard of new thoughts and values.

As Roan envisaged, the field of literature rapidly achieved an independent and respectable cultural status after the end of the Russo-Japanese War, in relation to Japan's rising political status in the international order. Natsume Sôseki's (1867-1916) emergence as a professional writer in 1907 was symbolic of, as well as contributed to, this upward shift in the social status of literature and writers in Japan. Another evidence of the heightened status of literature is the dramatic growth of the general interest magazine *Chûôkôron* (Central Review, 1899.1-), whose central treatment of fiction as a marketing tool stimulated the growth of intellectual readership. When Takita Choin (1982-1925) joined the magazine in 1905, he successfully boosted sales by drastically increasing the number of literary works included in each issue. It was in *Chûôkôron* that Sôseki's early works appeared: "Ichiya" (One Night, 1905.9), "Kairokô" (The Shallot Dew, 1905.11) and "Nihyaku tôka" (Two Hundred Ten Days, 1906.10). Sôseki's quickly solidifying reputation after joining *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* played a crucial part in establishing *Chûôkôron* as an authority on literature, which eventually came to be regarded as an indispensable stepping-stone for new writers who wanted to enter the writing profession.

With the increased prices paralleling the increased number of pages, *Chûôkôron* gained the reputation of being an expensive, high-quality magazine. As modern critic Nagamine Shigetoshi points out, the advertisements that were inserted in every issue give proof to the

[68] Quoted from *Nihon kindai bungaku hyôronsen: Meiji/Taisho hen* (2003), p.208.「人生及び社会を対象とする今日以後の文人は昔しの詩人のように山林に韜晦する事は出来ない。都会に生活して群衆と伍し、直接時代に触れなければならぬ。」

central role literature played in the magazine's sales. The embellished phrases such as "epic works by first-class writers" (*dai-ichiryû sakka no yûhen taisaku*) or "masterpieces by celebrated writers" (*shotaika no kessaku taisaku*) adorned the pages over and over, and the words *ichiryû* (leading) and *taika* (great writers), which began to appear from the 200th anniversary issue in 1905, were particularly reiterated throughout the Taishô period.[69] Furthermore, the literary magazine *Shinchô* (New Wave, 1904.5-) pioneered a new type of literary journalism, in which a journalist would visit writers' homes and offer glimpses into their private lives through impressions and anecdotes, as *Shinchô*'s editor Nakamura Murao (1886-1949) famously did in his series "Daiichi inshô roku" (Records of First Impressions, 1908.1-1909.6).[70] This curiosity in the figure of the author soon turned into a series of special features on individual writers discussed by other illustrious figures in the literary world, feeding into the cult of personality and making the authors seem accessible and desirable to its readers. This mode of reading cultivated by the journalistic focus on the authors' private lives, as well as the advertisements that flooded the newspapers and magazines, played an essential part in turning writers into celebrities, inevitably changing the way writers wrote and how their works were read.

Yomiuri Shimbun and Literary Competitions

The growth of the publishing industry at the turn of the century led to increasing demands for writers to fill the pages. As one solution, newspapers began putting monetary prizes on submissions of literary works, using these competitions themselves as a marketing tool to solicit writers and to expand readership. *Yomiuri Shimbun* played an important role as one of the first media outlets to embark on this new system of turning literature into a commercial event, and this is remembered and recorded in a series of articles in February 1931 titled "Kenshô shôsetsu

[69] Quoted from Nagamine Shigetoshi, *Zasshi to dokusha no kindai*, p.145.「各方面に於ける第一流作家の 雄編大作」「第一流の作家の佳作傑作」「諸大家の傑作大作」「第一流の名士」
[70] See Senuma Shigeki's discussion of Nakamura Murao in *Shinchô sakkaron shû* (1971), p.511-13.

de yo ni deta hitobito" (Writers Who Gained Fame Through Literary Competitions, 1931.2.5,7,10, *Yomiuri Shimbun*). Tracing the history of literary competitions, the article locates Takayama Chogyû (1871-1902), then an unknown 23 year-old student, as one of the earliest examples of writers who successfully made their literary debuts through winning a *Yomiuri Shimbun* writing contest. The winner was announced on April 15th 1894, and the prize-winning novel *Takiguchi nyûdô* (Monk Takiguchi, 1894.4.16-5.30) began serialization the next day.

In this early stage of literary competitions, *Takiguchi nyûdô* was serialized anonymously since the then Tokyo Imperial University student did not wish his name to be revealed. Despite the fact that the winning author was unnamed, the article reports that this system shocked the literary world with its "liberal" approach to finding talents, in contrast to the earlier literary environment that it characterizes as "feudal":

> It was still the heyday of Rohan and Kôyô, and the Ken'yûsha school led by Kôyô was in full prosperity. The literary world was not yet open to such liberal notions as literary competitions. The feudal air was thick, as evidenced by the apprentice system of the Ken'yûsha group. It was impossible to imagine that someone could swiftly gain a place in the center of the literary world by winning a prize. Takayama Chogyû's sudden appearance was indeed an extraordinary occasion, and an epoch-making event in the literary world.[71]

Although the authorship of the novel was not revealed until after the writer's death, the article rewrites its own history and points to Chogyû's "sudden appearance" as a ground-breaking event, thereby celebrating *Yomiuri*'s own achievement as pioneering a new way of marketing literature, particularly in updating the "feudal" apprentice system to a democratic one that gives opportunity to aspiring writers from all over Japan.

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[71] *Yomiuri Shimbun* (1931.2.5).「未だ紅葉、露伴の全盛時代であり、尾崎紅葉の率いる硯友社一派が隆盛な頃で懸賞小説なぞといふ、自由主義的な道が文壇に開けていない時分であった。硯友社のお弟子さん制度が厳然として居り、文壇にも封建的な空気が濃厚でもあったので、懸賞当選に拠って一躍中央文壇に地位を得るといふやうなことはなかったのである。高山樗牛が突然の出現は実際驚異的なものだったのである。文壇の空気にも一エポックを？したも のである。」

While this new system opens doors to fame, the article continues, the fame can quickly disappear by failing to follow the right procedures. After a brief history of major writers who made their debuts through literary competitions, the concluding paragraph at the end of the article series emphasizes the important role the media plays in today's literary world, with a pronounced rhetoric of capitalism.

> There have been countless people who have won literary prizes beyond the small list of writers introduced here, but only few remain in the literary world to become producers of manuscript products. Even with impressive skill and talent, he will end up disappearing without access to the right people and opportunities after winning the competition. The literary world is the most competitive market there is, and it is extremely difficult to have the public recognize one's market value as an individual.[72]

Identifying the literary world as a competitive "market" (*shijô*) in which writers become "producers" (*seisansha*) of "manuscript products" (*genkô shôhin*), the article confirms and amplifies Uchida Roan's analysis of the commercialization of literature in the expanding publishing industry. Moreover, it underscores the importance of the media, which not only provides opportunities but also becomes an essential tool in establishing oneself as a writer. Indeed, these literary prizes were supplemented by advertisements and articles that aimed to boost sales by fueling the readers' anticipation. In this commercial age, success no longer depends on the power of the individual, but in the media to control and promote the writer's "market value" (*shijô kachi*) to the general public. To maintain success, therefore, one must know how to control, and be controlled by the media.

Another crucial role the media played is in establishing the hierarchy of literary genres. Modern critic Kôno Kensuke argues how these literary prize events began to focus on the single

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[72] *Yomiuri Shimbun* (1931.2.10).「昔から今に至るまで懸賞小説にはここにかかれた一部分の人以外に無数の人が当選しているのであるが文壇に残って原稿商品の生産者となっている人は少ない。当選して相当な手腕と才能を持っている人でも当選後に擁護する人とか機会がなければ、結局それ切りとなって姿を消して了ふのである。文壇、それは、あらゆる他の市場よりも競争の激しいところであるし市場価値を一般に認識させるといふことは単独では却々困難な事情にも置かれている。」

genre of the novel (*shôsetsu*), which came to be deemed as a realm worth developing for the newspaper capital.[73] While *Yomiuri Shimbun*'s 1894 competition encouraged the submission of drama (*kyakuhon*) as well as the novel, the competitions that follow – by newspapers such as *Yorozu chôhô* (Universal Morning News, 1892.11-1940.9), and journals such as *Bungei kurabu* (Literary Arts Club, 1895.1-1933.1), *Teikoku bungaku* (Imperial Literature, 1895.1-1920.1), and *Shinshôsetsu* (New Novel, 1889.1-90.6, 1896.7-1926.11) – begin to focus exclusively on the genre of the novel. Thus, literary competitions held by the media played an important role in establishing the novel as the highest genre of literary product in the increasingly commercial environment. Short literary works, either in a single installment or in serialized form, begin to make its established appearance in the "literary section" (*bungei-ran*) of magazines and newspapers, clearly labeled *shôsetsu* to mark its genre, becoming established as the most dominant genre in modern Japanese literature.

As a result of the growth of the publishing industry and the professionalization of the field of literature after the Russo-Japanese War, the journalistic category of "women's literature" (*joryû bungaku*) emerged systematically in the 1910s and continued to flourish in the coming decades with the vast expansion of female readership. As the precursor to the modern women writer, Higuchi Ichiyô was writing at the very moment of transition when the nature of literature was being transformed and consolidated. Gaining recognition when literature was beginning to be commercialized, Ichiyô showed great ambivalence between the aesthetic and economic aspects of literary production, as well as the gendered implications of writing.[74] While she did not live long enough to make a comfortable living off of manuscript fees, the rapidly

[73] Kôno Kensuke, *Tôki to shite no bungaku: katsuji, kenshô, media* (2003), p.35-6.
[74] Kan Satoko, "Josei sakka: Higuchi Ichiyô" in *Shin koten bungaku taikei: Meiji-hen 24* (2001), pp.549-558.

commercializing publishing industry increasingly allowed women to earn a living through their pens. The following chapters explore how various women writers embraced, subverted, and negotiated the gendered identity of the "woman writer" (*joryû sakka*) as they took up their pens and created their own spheres of literary production in early 20th century Japan.

Chapter One

The Rise of the Woman Writer: Tamura Toshiko and the Media

In the rapidly commercialized publishing industry of the early 20th century, when the production of literature was fast becoming inseparable from the expanding media, Tamura Toshiko (1884-1945) emerged as one of Japan's first commercially successful female writers in the 1910s. Building her career by publishing prolifically in major journals and newspapers, Toshiko became a central figure in the new journalistic category of "women writers" (*joryû sakka*) alongside the rising interest in the New Woman as a social phenomenon. By examining how Toshiko was discussed and marketed in the media, I trace how "women's literature" (*joryû bungaku*) became a distinct category in the publishing industry and in the popular imagination within the interrelated discourses of Naturalism, New Woman, and decadence in the late Meiji to early Taishô media, against the backdrop of emerging Japanese feminism and ongoing debates on women's issues. Through a close textual analysis of her novel and short stories, furthermore, I explore Toshiko's critical exploration of the sexual politics of Japan's literary world, her modernist aesthetics that placed her in an ambivalent position vis-à-vis the emerging feminist community, and her unique vision of the relationship between women and artistic production.

1. Tamura Toshiko's Emergence as a Woman Writer

Tamura Toshiko came into the media limelight by winning a literary contest hosted by *Osaka Asahi Shimbun*. Following the examples of *Yomiuri Shimbun* and other precursors, *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* first joined the trend of hosting literary competitions in January 1904 awarding

three hundred yen to the best novel. By the time Toshiko entered the competition in 1910, the award for the first prize had swollen to two thousand yen. On November 11th 1910, her novel titled *Akirame* (Resignation) was announced as the winner of the second prize without a first prize winner, thus winning one thousand yen. As one of the aims of these competitions was to bring unknown writers into the literary world, the names of the judges played a crucial role in enhancing the value of the competition.[1] In this case, *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* advertised an impressive group of judges consisting of Kôda Rohan (1867-1947), Shimamura Hôgetsu (1871-1918), and Natsume Sôseki (1867-1916), though in reality, it was Morita Sôhei (1881-1949) who took the place of Sôseki who had backed out for health reasons. Following the announcement of the top prize, *Akirame* (Resignation, 1911.1.1-3.21) began its serialization in *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* on January 1st 1911, kicking off the New Year.[2]

Tamura Toshiko's debut, backed up by the names of three authoritative literary figures, sounds like a democratic success story for a hitherto unknown writer. However, these competitions were not as egalitarian or open as they seemed, and the featured writers were often already apprentices of renowned writers or were journalists or editors looking for an opportunity to publish their works.[3] In Toshiko's case, she was an apprentice of one of the judges, Kôda Rohan, and had already in fact published numerous works under the pseudonym Satô Roei. Her actual debut took place with the publication of *Tsuyuwake-goromo* (Dew Drenched Robe, 1903.2) in *Bungei Kurabu*, eight years prior to the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* competition. While

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[1] In the 1920s, when literature became more and more popularized with mass media and mass readership, newspapers gave the readers the chance to decide the order of the prize winners, as in the case of *Jiji shinpô* where Uno Chiyo won first prize for *Shifun no kao* (Painted Face). Yokomitsu Riichi, still unknown and writing with a pseudonym, was also one of the winners.

[2] Following her success, Toshiko herself became a judge as an established literary figure for *Yomiuri*'s literary contest. In the 1931 *Yomiuri* article that records the history of literary competitions in modern Japan, Toshiko's win is remembered among other successful writers long after she had left the Japanese literary scene, with this brief introduction: "Satô Toshiko (formerly Tamura Toshiko), who is publishing a Japanese language newspaper with her partner Suzuki Etsu in Vancouver."

[3] Kôno Kensuke, *Tôki to shite no bungaku: katsuji, kenshô, media* (2003), p.148.

Tsuyuwake-goromo was written in the neo-classical language under the guidance of Rohan, Toshiko took a decisive turn in *Akirame* and uses the *genbun-itchi* colloquial language, which was promoted in the Naturalist movement as the literary style suitable to the modern novel, while rendering the neo-classical style as outmoded.[4] As modern critic Seki Reiko argues, this shift in literary style thus symbolically brings Toshiko out of the "traditional" and "feminine" sphere of literature as associated with Higuchi Ichiyô, into a level playing field with leading contemporary Naturalist writers.[5]

Toshiko's winning of the newspaper literary competition gave the media the perfect opportunity to market the "literary debut" of a modern writer named "Tamura Toshiko." The immediate rhetoric surrounding Toshiko's novel *Akirame* indeed shows her acceptance into the literary world within the dominant discourse of Naturalism. Yet, while Toshiko made her name in the literary world by shedding the neo-classical style and adopting the modern colloquial *genbun-itchi* style, gendered as masculine in the Naturalist rhetoric, the emphasis on authenticity and the mode of confession in Japanese Naturalism ends up highlighting what was imagined as the depiction of a unique woman's experience by the female writer, thereby placing her back into the sphere of the feminine. The rhetoric surrounding Toshiko illuminates the ambiguous position of the woman writer within Naturalist discourse, limiting the female author to the immediate experience of her sex and the expectation of a certain type of *l'écriture féminine*. Nonetheless, it was as a result of this media exposure that Toshiko began publishing in major outlets such as *Shinchô*, *Chûokôron* and *Waseda Bungaku* (1891.10-), as the discourse of Naturalism dominated the literary world in the late 1900s and the early 1910s.

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[4] Tomi Suzuki, "The Tale of Genji, National Literature, Language, and Modernism," pp.257-61.
[5] See Seki Reiko's *Ichiyô igo no josei hyogen* (2003), pp.171-195, for an examination of Tamura Toshiko's early works before *Akirame*. Seki Reiko discusses Kôda Rohan's role in fashioning Tamura Toshiko as a "post-Ichiyô" writer with her debut, and how Toshiko overcame the hurdle of Ichiyô by changing her literary style from neo-classical to colloquial in her works serialized in newspapers.

Publication of *Akirame* (1911.7) in Book Form

In the publication of *Akirame* in book form from Kanao Bun'endô later that same year, the leading Naturalist critic Shimamura Hôgetsu and the novelist Morita Sôhei contribute short Prefaces to Toshiko's work. Hôgetsu and Sôhei were two of the judges on the *Osaka Asahi* literary competition, and this continuity reveals the cooperative marketing strategies between the newspaper and the publishing company working together to achieve maximum profit for both. Moreover, the celebratory Prefaces by the two male judges give insight into why Toshiko's work might have been chosen as the winner of the contest. What can be detected in both is an emphasis on woman's experience that is imagined as separate from men's, and this gendered assessment undoubtedly played a decisive part in her winning the competition. Similarly, Toshiko's gender, displaced in the secondary realm of femininity, becomes a crucial component in her success as a modern woman writer.

Hôgetsu's assessment of the work clearly delineates Toshiko as an emerging woman writer in the Naturalist discourse. Although the competition is judged anonymously, Hôgetsu remembers in the Preface that he could guess the writer's sex by her writing. In addition to distinguishing the author for the complex world the novel portrays, Hôgetsu celebrates the work for what it reveals about the experience and nature of the modern woman.

> Thinking back to the time when I read this novel as a request from *Osaka Asahi Shimbun*, I remember detecting delicate shades here and there that gave insight into a young woman's heart. As this would have been unimaginable to men, I concluded that the writer must be a woman. This was what interested me foremost. Then, in contrast to the simplicity of the life of female students [*jogakusei*], there was a vivid portrayal of places and people of the lower parts of town, evoking a certain atmosphere through the restaurant, the actress or the dancing teacher. The strength of the writer is in combining the two different worlds of a modern woman into one, and the work sets itself apart from other mundane works by young writers. Furthermore, it portrays the slovenly nature of man from a woman's view, and touches upon the delicate, secret communication between women, which men cannot experience.[6]

[6] Shimamura Hôgetsu's preface to *Akirame* (1911.7).「去年大阪朝日新聞の依頼で此の小説を読んだ時の記憶を辿ってみると、此の作には、第一に若い女の心のひらめきで、到底男の思ひ及ばない微妙なシェーヅ

Hôgetsu praises the work for giving insight into the inner workings of a woman's mind that are inaccessible to men. Continuing the Naturalist rhetoric, Hôgetsu at one point gently admonishes Toshiko's writing as being too "skillful" (*takumi*) and "intellectual" (*chishiki-teki*), distracting from the "natural" (*shizen*) touch that women possess. Yet, he quickly redeems the work by characterizing its general tone as "simple" (*heitan*) and "truthful" (*shinjitsu*), claiming that it brings the reader close to the writer's "inner truth" (*naiteki shinjitsu*). This idea of "truth" was central to Hôgetsu's theory of Naturalism, as witnessed in his influential treatise "Bungeijô no shizen-shugi" (Naturalism in Literary Arts, 1908.1, *Waseda bungaku*), and clearly shows his assessment of Tamura Toshiko as a Naturalist writer.[7]

The emphasis on the work's authentic portrait of woman's experience is carried over to a gendering of the work's writing style. Hôgetsu attributes the novel's "gentle" (*yasashii*) tone to being a product of a "woman's brush" (*josei no fude*), and Morita Sôhei further exoticizes the materiality of the "woman's brush" in his Preface as follows:

> The moment I took *Akirame* in my hands, the delicate feminine letters written in purple ink jumped into my eyes. As I read on, I saw beautiful sensuality and delicate sensitivity that could only belong to a woman.[8]

In Sôhei's praise, Hélène Cixous's "white ink" representing a mother's milk is replaced with the feminine and elegant "purple ink." The color purple (*murasaki*) is also suggestive of the 11th

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が所々に捉らへてある、どうしても作者は女性だらうと思った。自分には是れが先づ面白かった。次に一方単純な女学生式の生活に対して、複雑な下町式、または料理屋、女優、踊の師匠といった風の空気が、場所にも人間にも可なり鮮かに点出せられている。此の二の違った現代女性の世界を一つに綯ひまぜた所が、作者の強みである、ありふれた若い人々の作に比べて異彩だと思った。 それから如何にも女の眼から見た、だらしない男性といふやうなものが、ちらちら書いてある。それから女と女との心の秘密も、男の経験し得ない或機微に触れている 」

[7] In this treatise, Hôgetsu declares: "Naturalism alone depicts the Truth. The term Truth is the life and motto of Naturalism." Quoted from *Meiji bungaku zenshû 43*, p.53.

[8] Morita Shôhei's preface to *Akirame*, Kanao Bun'endô. 「『あきらめ』を手に取りたる刹那、まづ紫色のインキにて書きたる肉細の女文字が眼に映り申候。段段読みもて行くに、女ならではと思はるるやうな、美しき感能のにほひも有れば、こまやかな神経の反応も有りて」

century Heian court writer Murasaki Shikibu, who came to represent the epitome of the female literary tradition of Japan in the late 19th century. In both Hôgetsu's and Sôhei's Preface, Toshiko's *l'écriture féminine*, intimately connected to what is imagined as her "inner truth," is considered the most distinguishable and valuable feature of the work.

In an advertisement of the publication of *Akirame* in *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* (1911.7.22), an excerpt of Hôgetsu's Preface is printed next to the title, giving legitimacy to the work through the endorsement of this influential critic. The font used for the title resembles a calligraphy, giving the *hiragana* script a soft and elegant feminine touch, and standing out among the other advertisements with titles written in square Chinese characters. This feminine presentation gives visual proof to Hôgetsu and Sôhei's appraisal in their Preface. Furthermore, Toshiko's title is placed next to another woman writer Yosano Akiko (1878-1942), whose first collection of essays *Ichigû yori* (From One Corner, 1911.7) was also published by Kanao Bun'endô in the same month. While Akiko was already established as a *tanka* poet by this time, this collection of her non-fiction works, published between 1909 and 1911, presents Akiko as a critic and essayist engaging in contemporary debates on marriage, motherhood and women's education. By strategically placing Toshiko next to this renowned poet and emerging essayist, who would also soon come to be known as the modern colloquial translator of Murasaki Shikibu's *The Tale of Genji* (1912-13), the publisher not only heightens Toshiko's status through the association, but also markets the commercial category of women writers by grouping the two women together.

It is also notable that next to Akiko's title is Mori Ôgai's translation of Gerhart Hauptmann's *Lonely Lives* (*Einsame Menschen*, 1891), which became famous in Japan for its New Woman heroine Anna Mahr. The placement of these three works already shows the formation of the category of women writers within the discourse of the New Woman, with

Toshiko and Akiko as representative figures. Toshiko's acute, feminine sensitivity will continue to be emphasized as the key feature of her work, but this same "sensitivity" (*kankaku*) will be criticized for the lack of intellectual "self-awareness" (*jikaku*), which was to become the defining characteristic of the New Woman. To this extent, Hôgetsu's observation of Toshiko's writing as at times too "intellectual" (*chishiki-teki*) makes an interesting contrast to later critics who would characterize her work as lacking in rationality within the New Woman discourse.

***Akirame* (Resignation, 1911.7)**

Toshiko's novel *Akirame* (Resignation, 1911.7) parallels the experience of its own publication history, narrating the story about a young aspiring writer who wins a newspaper writing contest.[9] Living with her older sister whose husband is an established novelist, therefore creating a pseudo-apprentice (*shosei*) living arrangement that was common at the time, the protagonist Tomie gains sudden media attention after her play wins a literary competition hosted by a newspaper. The process of Tomie's inevitable withdrawal from the women's college she attends illuminates the inseparable relationship between literature and the media, turning her into a public figure overnight. The novel portrays the anxiety that such sudden media exposure can create, revolving around the tension between one's private life and the public eye. The literary work only seems to serve as a catalyst for turning a writer into a celebrity, whose life is constantly on surveillance and food for gossip.

Akirame gives insight into the gender dynamics of the literary world and publishing environment of the late Meiji period. In the opening pages, the heroine Tomie is confronted with a choice; she must choose between women's higher education founded upon the modern ideal of *ryôsai kenbo* (good wife, wise mother), and the male-dominant professional publishing world

[9] I have based my analysis on the book version of *Akirame*, included in *Tamura Toshiko Sakuhinshû*, vol.1. All translations are mine, and quotations are cited using the abbreviation "*TTS*1."

where women are beginning to gain presence. In the end, she chooses neither option but leaves Tokyo behind to fulfill her family obligations in Gifu. While her decision in the end seems to be a passive "resignation" (*akirame*) rather than an active choice, withdrawing into the countryside to give up any chance at a professional future, it can also be read as a rebellion against the problematic natures of both alternatives, neither of which promises any true sense of freedom or fulfillment for women.

The opening pages of *Akirame* must have at once suggested a feeling of youth and modern life, filled with various new terms connoting school life such as "students" (*seito*), "school building" (*kôsha*), "dormitory" (*ryôsha*), "principle" (*kôchô*), "dean" (*gakkan*), "primary school division" (*shôgakubu*), "boarding school life" (*kishuku seikatsu*), and "library" (*toshoshitsu*). Female students had been a popular subject in literature and art from Futabatei Shimei's *Ukigumo* (Floating Clouds, 1887-89) to Tayama Katai's *Futon* (The Quilt, 1907), and this youthful and modern setting must have seemed particularly fitting to a young writer like Tamura Toshiko, who was one of the first incoming students of Japan Women's College founded by Naruse Jinzô in 1901. Yet, the story opens with the protagonist Tomie turning her back to this school. On her way, she sees a foreign English teacher coming down the steps and riding a bicycle out of the school gate. The text does not enter into Tomie's thought as she gazes at this prototypical New Woman figure, as she turns her back on the education that the women's college would have offered her.

Walking out of the campus, Tomie sees one of her classmates carrying a pair of flower scissors on her way to decorate the dormitory rooms, and remembers her wish to "create an ideal garden and live her life buried in flowers" (*TTS*1, 7). This image points to the central role that the dormitory and the flower garden played in Naruse Jinzô's conceptualization of the founding

of Japan Women's College as an "ideal Home" (*aidearu ho-mu*), with the dormitory as a "Home" reigned by the mother figure of the dormitory dean (*ryôkan*) and the "garden" filled with her children. This reconstruction of the Home based on the Victorian notion of womanhood points to Naruse's upholding of the national idea of *ryôsai kenbo*; by experiencing the macrocosm of the domestic Home, the students will go out into society educated as good wives and wise mothers. Upon seeing her classmate with the flower scissors, Tomie remembers the dean's words chiding her in the same flower imagery: "It is the school's doctrine that students build a firm root and strive to bring forth beautiful flowers in the future. The flowers will not bloom if the root makes haste to make a name for itself" (*TTS*1, 8). Remembering these words, Tomie looks towards the dormitory and sees "red and white colors, appearing and disappearing" (*TTS*1, 8), as if the students were indistinguishable colors of flowers.

Although Tomie turns her back on the college, not intending to return, she also feels detached from all the media hype surrounding her and refuses to be captured in a journalistic narrative. This reluctance is underscored when Tomie is interviewed by a female journalist from a women's magazine called *Fujo sekai* (Woman's World). Although the title is fictional, there were many such magazines aimed at women around the time this story was published such as *Fujin-kai* (Woman's World, 1902.7-), *Fujin gahô* (Woman's Pictorial, 1905.7-), *Fujin no tomo* (Woman's Companion, 1906-), and *Fujo-kai* (Women's Spherer, 1910.3-). We are told that the journalist who visits Tomie is an alumnus of the same college, showing the role that women's higher education plays in producing an elite group of professional women. Yet, Tomie's description of the journalist's physique is unflattering – dark-skinned, protruding forehead, pointy chin, glasses, lusterless hair – a caricature of the common negative stereotypes surrounding professional women. With a strong sense of herself as a woman who is able to have

a professional career for the first time in history, the journalist announces the role that Tomie is expected to play for the bourgeoning female community: "We admire you as an exceptionally promising woman writer that appeared for the first time in the new era. I come here today to ask about your aspirations as a playwright and as a woman" (*TTS*1, 46-7).[10] Tomie cannot hide her frustration with the journalist, who tries to uphold her as an exemplary figure in the community of women writers. Tomie's reluctance to become a role model shows her ambivalence towards her own ambitions, and her skepticism towards society that places women in a secondary realm despite the new opportunities that stem from modern education.

When her play is made into theater production, Tomie finds herself referred to in the newspaper as a "woman playwright" (*joryû kyakuhonka*) and a "woman writer" (*joryû sakka*), presented with a photograph as if to offer a visual confirmation of her sex. Tomie herself feels removed from these gendered categories; rather than offering a sense of empowerment, they only seem to point to the fact that women are merely commodities in a male-driven literary market. This becomes particularly clear in a conversation between two men, Hanada, the journalist, and Chihaya, the son of a powerful businessman who controls the theater world. When Chihaya asks Handa to introduce him to the up and coming playwright Tomie, Handa says knowingly, "You are gaining quite a collection of *joryû* masterpieces," to which Chihaya replies, "I'm not interested in those who have already made it" (*TTS*1, 69-70).[11] This interaction reveals their commercial venture to discover and turn women into celebrities, gaining profit through the marketing strategy in which women are only pawns in the power struggle between men.

Indeed, one of Tomie's struggles is her lack of independence. Even though she has won a prize in a writing contest, Tomie is still financially dependent on her sister's husband Ryokushi,

[10] 「新時代に初めて現れた、最も望み多いところの女作家として尊敬する。そして劇作家として婦人として立つに就いての抱負を聞かして貰ひ度い、と云ふのが今日の訪問の問題だと云ふ。」
[11] 「大分女流の傑作をお集めですね。」「既になって了ったものには、用は無いんだよ。」

an established novelist whom she deems old-fashioned. Having lost both of her parents, it was due to his financial support that she was able to attend the women's college in the first place. Although Tomie has a room of her own in her sister's house, there is hardly any privacy as the house is always full of relatives and visitors. She is free to take the train and go where she likes, even spending nights away from home without asking for anyone's consent; yet, her great adventure is to take her younger sister Kie (who had been given away for adoption following her mother's death) on the train to Hakone on a whim, where Kie's adoptive mother follows them early next morning with a change of clothes in hand. When her father's second wife, who is taking care of her mother-in-law after her husband's death, arrives from Gifu to persuade Tomie to go to the countryside to take care of her aged grandmother, Tomie cannot help but muse upon her limitations as a woman: "If I want to stay in Tokyo and pursue my interests, I have no choice but to rely on my brother-in-law to take care of me. I am not a man. I am a young woman" (*TTS*1, 162).[12] Tomie suffers from malaise, longing for change without knowing what that change is. Tomie's inarticulate struggle and inability to make a decision illuminates the precarious position of young, unmarried women in society, inevitably dependent upon the generosities and whims of their male elders and family obligations regardless of their own talent or ambition.

There is another female character in the novel that is presented as Tomie's counterpart, an actress named Miwa who is also pursuing her dream in the arts. Despite their friendship during college, Miwa believes they can no longer communicate; Miwa is focused on her career ambitions and is utterly detached from family concerns. When Tomie confesses her dissatisfaction of being dependent on her brother-in law, Miwa does not answer, but simply looks with longing eyes at a poster of Olga Nethersole (1870-1957), an English stage actress that

[12] 「自分が東京に踏み留って好きな事をやり度いと思ふ限り、其れ等に就いての保護は矢っ張り兄に頼むより他はなかった。自分は男ではない。若い女である。」

played controversial roles such as Sappho and Carmen. The two women also belong to different groups in the theater world. Tomie's play is performed by a kabuki-style *Shimpa* group with male impersonators playing the female roles, and features the stock character of a jealous woman suffering from an unfaithful husband, modeled after her older sister's unhappy marriage. In contrast to this, Miwa is decidedly a New Woman figure, gazing at the posters of European actresses on her bedroom wall and reading Ibsen's *A Doll's House* in her spare time.[13] When Miwa is featured in the newspaper as a "New Actress of the Asasuge troupe" with a smiling photograph, revealing that she is the mistress of the most powerful man in theater business, Tomie is shocked and imagines her to be angry with this scandal that would surely ruin her reputation. On the contrary, Miwa makes no effort to deny this news, but uses the opportunity to have her alleged lover Chihaya finance her travels to Europe in order to pursue her dreams of gaining international success.

The story ends with Tomie leaving Tokyo on the train to take care of her aged grandmother in Gifu on the same morning that she receives a postcard from Miwa taking leave for her trip abroad. This ending marks a definitive break in the fate of the two women. Interestingly, when Tamura Toshiko edited this story to be published in book form, she significantly deleted passages where the two women interact in a revealing way, leaving out the scenes where they voice their dreams for their future careers and desires for independence.[14] This deletion makes Miwa a marginal and mysterious figure, while placing more emphasis on the paralysis that Tomie feels, caught between the various forces that prohibit her from making a decision for herself. In the end, finishing her college education and pursuing a literary career in Tokyo seem just as limiting as the familial duties that await her in Gifu.

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[13] Ibsen became widely read after his death in 1906. Shimamura Hôgetsu's translation of *A Doll's House* was published in the January 1910 issue of *Waseda bungaku*, a year before the serialization of *Akirame*.
[14] For a detailed commentary on the revision, see Afterward in *Tamura Toshiko Sakuhinshû Vol.1*, pp.436-443.

While *Akirame* reveals the emotional complexities of a young woman searching for an independent existence in this transitional period of women's social advancement, the passive conclusion reflected in the title may have seemed somewhat old-fashioned and disappointing to contemporary readers. However, if we read Tomie's decision in the end not simply as a "resignation" from a career as the title suggests, but as a resistance towards the media and the publishing industry that consumes and distorts her experience, we can read this piece as an astute commentary on the emerging power of the media in the commercializing literary world. It is quite telling that Tamura Toshiko shows such an awareness of the tension between media and literary profession in this early work, which in reality pushed her into the media spotlight by winning the newspaper literary competition. Far from giving up, Toshiko used the media to her advantage in fashioning her private life to create a literary persona of a woman writer among the male-dominant literary sphere. It is perhaps this early awareness of the importance of the media that helped Toshiko become such a successful public figure in her own career.

The discourse of New Woman that consumes Tamura Toshiko soon after the publication of her novel brings her closer to the New Woman figure of Miwa. Like the aspiring actress that the heroine cannot comprehend, Toshiko played into the narrative that the media created and performed the part through rhetoric and photography, emerging as a leading female writer in the Taisho period. A contemporary review in *Waseda Bungaku* already situates *Akirame* within the context of the New Woman, which was beginning to gain prominence in the media as well as in literature. Connecting the work to the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen, a key figure in the New Woman discourse, the reviewer notes that Toshiko's heroine lacks the "strong, acute individualistic side that one sees in Ibsen's women." [15] While concluding that the heroine's

[15] "Tamura Toshiko no Akirame" (1911.9, *Waseda Bungaku*). 「イプセンなどの女性に見るやうな強い鋭いインヂビジュアリスチックの一面が無い」

submission to tradition will not gain sympathy from contemporary readers, the reviewer praises Toshiko for portraying a type of woman that exists in abundance in current society, evoking the "weakness and ephemeral nature of a woman who has gained new ideas through a new type of education."[16] The rising interest in Toshiko within the New Woman discourse can also be witnessed in the advertisement of *Akirame* in the literary journal *Mita bungaku* (1910.5-), where the reviewer states that rather than being "pure art" (*jun geijutsuhin*), Toshiko's work provides interesting "research material" (*kenkyû zairyô*) in observing the nature and thoughts of the "women of the new age" (*shinjidai-teki josei*).[17] These reviews foreshadow how Tamura Toshiko emerges as a key figure in the discourse of the New Woman in the following years, herself becoming an object of examination by the media.

2. New Woman Discourse and the Birth of *Seitô*

Advent of the New Woman

The year 1911 is often regarded as a momentous year for Japanese women, marking the publication of the feminist literary magazine *Seitô* (Bluestockings, 1911.9-1916.2) and the staging of Ibsen's *A Doll's House* starring actress Matsui Sumako (1886-1919) at the Imperial Theater. Arishima Takeo's novel, later published as *Aru onna* (A Certain Woman), began to be serialized that year with the title "Aru onna no gurimpusu" (A Glimpse of a Certain Woman, 1911.1-1913.3, *Shirakaba*), featuring a new type of heroine who openly rebels against convention and morality.[18] Reflecting these developments, in tandem with journalistic reports of the intensifying women's suffrage movement in the United Kingdom, the term "New Woman"

[16] Ibid.「比較的新らしい教育を受け新らしい思想を理解し得た女の弱さ果敢なさがある程度迄書けて居る。現代にやや多く存在して居る斯く云ふ女の型(タイプ)を描いたと云ふ此点に、此作一面の強味が存する」
[17] "Tamura Toshiko, *Akirame*" (1911.10, *Mita bungaku*).
[18] See Paul Anderer, *Other Worlds: Arishima Takeo and the Bounds of Modern Japanese Fiction* (1984).

began to circulate in the Japanese media in some variations, such as *atarashii onna*, *atarashiki onna*, and *shinfujin*. This figure of the New Woman gained unprecedented attention in the early 1910s, and the public fascination with this phenomenon can be witnessed in a series of reports and special features that newspapers and magazines held, as writers from various fields tried to articulate what exactly it was that captured the public imagination. The New Woman was as much created by this journalistic discourse as captured from real life, and the responses from various men and women reveal the anxieties and desires towards the changing status of women within society. The discourse of New Woman became linked to the women's movement at large, playing an important part in the ongoing debates about women's social issues of education and workforce in the early 1910s.[19]

But where did this idea of a new type of woman originate, and when precisely did she come into being? The emergence of the term "New Woman" can be located at a distinct moment in England in the late 19th century. In the latter half of the 19th century, portraits of new types of women, decidedly different from the Victorian ideal figure of the "Angel in the House," attracted attention and were addressed in different names. A well-known example is Eliza Lynn Linton's term "Girl of the Period" that appeared in the late 1860s. It was in 1894 that the coinage of the term New Woman took place in a debate between two fiction writers Sarah Grand (1854-1943) and Ouida (1839-1908) in *North American Review*.[20] Responding to Sarah Grand's defense of the "new woman" in her essay "The New Aspect of the Woman Question" (1894.3), Ouida put Grand's term in capitalized letters in her essay "The New Woman" (1894.5), treating her existence as an established fact and criticizing her through caricatured descriptions and

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[19] See Dina Lowy's *The Japanese "New Woman": Images of Gender and Modernity* (2007) for a well-documented study of the discourse of New Woman in relation to the feminist women of *Seitô*.

[20] Sarah Grand (1854-1943). Leading feminist writer and New Woman novelist. Ouida (1839-1908). Prolific and popular English writer of novels, children's books, short stories and essays. Pseudonym of Maria Louise Ramé. Best known in Japan for her children's book *A Dog of Flanders* (1872).

images. This term, which began to circulate in the media through this debate, assured its place in the popular imagination when *Punch* began a series of satires of the New Woman.[21]

Like many new concepts that emerged in the Meiji period, this figure came into being in Japan through translation from Western texts. One of the first introductions of a New Woman figure in Japanese fiction was Shimamura Hôgetsu's adapted translation of Grant Allen's bestselling New Woman novel *The Woman Who Did* (1893). This sensational novel tells a story of an independent woman who drops out of Girton College to work as a school teacher in the East End of London, and chooses not to marry and to have a child out of wedlock. Allen's novel, which is often criticized for its ambivalent feminism in ultimately confining the portrait of the heroine to the Victorian ideal of purity and self-sacrifice, created a stir among conservatives and radicals alike, notably by leading suffragist Millicent Fawcett (1847-1929) who questioned the heroine's adequacy as a feminist heroine. Its notoriety brought huge success, running through nineteen editions in one year.

While in England, the novel was known for its controversy rather than for its literary merit, Hôgetsu took this novel seriously as a think piece for social reform and women's liberation. Serialized in *Yomiuri Shimbun*, Hôgetsu's adapted translation titled *Sono onna* (That Woman, 1901.1.2-3.27) changes the characters' names into Japanese, so that the heroine Herminia Barton becomes Hatono Hamako and the love interest Alan Merrick becomes Mori Arao. In the Preface to the publication of this work in book form (1907.2, Hattori Shoten),

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[21] For scholarship on the New Woman in Europe and the United States, see Angelique Richardson and Chris Willis (eds), *The New Woman in Fiction and in Fact* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1990); Ann L. Ardis, *New Women, New Novels: Feminism and Early Modernism* (Rutgers University Press, 1991); Gail Cunningham, *The New Woman and the Victorian Novel* (London: Macmillan, 1978); Ann Heilmann, *New Woman Fiction* (London: Macmillan, 2000).

Hôgetsu invites the Japanese reader to think critically about the institution of marriage, one which is already under deep scrutiny in Europe:

> This novel depicts the audacious doctrine of free marriage and free romance. It centers upon the bold negation of the institution of marriage itself. When romantic love is spent, why should men and women be bound by the ties of marriage? This question will no doubt be dismissed without consideration when judged by the standards of present ethics and morals; however, is it not true that this doubt still lingers in people's hearts? The readers may not agree with the author's conclusion at present, but it will not be meaningless to think about this deep rooted problem that will occur in our country sooner or later, and one that is already acutely felt in Europe.[22]

Hôgetsu warns that this book may come too early for the Japanese populace still governed by feudal ideas of marriage, but hopes that it will give voice to doubts emerging in the modernizing world. While women's changing position in society had occupied an important topic of debate since the 1880s, often explored in fiction through themes that questioned the institution of marriage and the family system, Hôgetsu's Preface rings poignant following the establishment of the *Ie* family system in the 1898 Civil Act, which erased and nullified the recent history of debates and activism for the advancement of women's rights both in and outside of the home.

New Woman & Modern Theater

It was not until November 1911 that Nora finally stepped out of her family home in Shôyô and Hôgetsu's stage production of Ibsen's *A Doll's House* at the Tokyo Imperial Theater. The significance this event was attributed shows how modern theater emerged hand in hand with the feminist movement in Japan. It was modern theater that fascinated the feminist women of *Seitô* magazine in the early years of its publication, particularly the plays by Henrik Ibsen.

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[22] Shimamura Hôgetsu's Preface to *Sono onna* (1907.2).「この書は極めて大胆なる自由結婚、若しく は自由恋愛の主張を遇した小説である。結婚といふものみづからか否定せんとするまでに大胆なる思想が其の中心となっている。恋愛の命の耐えたとき、男女は何ゆえに結婚といふ縛によって制せられていなくてはならぬか。想ふに斯かる問題は現在の倫理道徳からは頭ごなしに批判せらるべきものであらうが、しかも猶ほ人々心内の疑惑としては、必ず之れを感ずる折のあるべき事実ではないか。今読者は必ずしも著者の結論に同意するものではないが、早晩わが国にも起こり来たるべき深き問題、また欧州では今以て痛切に感ぜられつつある問題として、之れに念ひ 及ぶことの必ずしも無意味に非ざるべきを信ずる。」

Ibsen's name was first introduced to Japan through Mori Ogai in 1889, the same year that the English translation of *A Doll's House* by William Archer (1856-1924) helped popularize the play around the world. While his plays were translated into Japanese as early as 1893, it was in the early 20th century that Ibsen came to be widely read, particularly following his death in 1906 when there was a flurry of introductions, translations, and special features in literary magazines.[23] Ibsen increasingly came to gain a social significance, particularly for portraying new types of women in modern society, as evidenced by Sôseki's comparison of the protagonist's love interest Mineko to Ibsen's heroines in *Sanshirô* (1908). The first staging of an Ibsen play in Japan was in 1909, when Osanai Kaoru's Free Theater (Jiyû gekijô) put on a performance of *John Gabriel Borkman* (1896), which was received with enthusiasm by the younger generation.

By the time the inaugural issue of *Seitô* came out in September 1911, Ibsen was widely read and discussed. The inaugural issue included a translation of a criticism of *Hedda Gabler* (1890) by the Russian writer and literary critic Dmitry Sergeyevich Merezhkovsky (1865-1941), followed by a joint criticism of the play in the following month. Ibsen's place in the discourse of the New Woman became solidified when the theater production Literary Arts Society (Bungei Kyôkai) led by Tsubouchi Shôyô (1859-1935) premiered *A Doll's House* in 1911 based on Hôgetsu's translation (1910.1, *Waseda Bungaku*), first as a trial performance in September, then to the general public in November in the Imperial Theater, heralding Japan's first modern actress Matsui Sumako. In January 1912, *Seitô* published a supplementary issue titled "Nora," including essays by Western critics such as Bernard Shaw and several thought pieces by *Seitô* writers. The

[23] After Ibsen was introduced to Japan by Tsubouchi Shôyô and Mori Ôgai, Takayasu Gekkô partially translated *An Enemy of the People* and *A Doll's House* in 1893, which were published in book form as *Ibusen saku shakaigeki* (Ibsen's Social Plays) in 1901. Following the author's death, Ibsen came to be celebrated by writers such as Natsume Sôseki, Takayama Chogyû, Shimazaki Tôson and Tayama Katai, as well as by Yanagita Kunio and Iwano Hômei who founded the Ibsen Society (*Nihon kindai bungaku daijiten*). See Nakamura Toshiko's *Nihon no Ipusen genshô: 1906-1916nen* (1997) for a detailed examination of the reception of Ibsen in Japan between 1906 and 1916.

various impressions and opinions towards the heroine of Ibsen's *A Doll's House* show the varying feminist approaches of the members of the *Seitô* group.[24] As the fascination with Ibsen's heroine in the feminist context shows, the discourse of the New Woman emerged alongside developments in modern theater.

The central position of modern theater in the New Woman discourse can be witnessed in Shôyô's book length work *Iwayuru Atarashii Onna* (The So-Called New Woman, 1912.4, *Seibidô*), based on a series of lectures he gave in the summer of 1910 as part of Waseda University's off campus education in Tokyo, Kobe, Osaka and Kyoto.[25] This book is notable for making Shôyô one of the first to seriously engage with the New Woman phenomenon in an academic context, and connected to his efforts of theater reform in Japan. Shôyô's lectures occupy the first half of this volume under the title "Kinsei geki ni mietaru atarashiki onna" (New Woman in Modern Plays), and the second half of the book "Kinsei shôsetsu ni mietaru atarashiki onna" (New Woman in Modern Novels) is attributed to literary critic Sôma Gyofû (1883-1950). After a theoretical discussion of the New Woman in relation to the contemporary women's suffrage movements in the United Kingdom and North America, Shôyô devotes the bulk of the book to analyzing a number of New Woman heroines from modern plays. The book, interspersed with photographs of actresses acting out the various New Woman heroines, is a testament to the centrality of visuality and performance in the discourse of the New Woman.

While there had been gradual changes in the social position of women with developments in women's education and advancement in the workplace since the beginning of the Meiji period, the shift in women's social status is imagined as the sensational appearance of the symbolic

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[24] See Dina Lowy's *The Japanese "New Woman"* for an analysis of *Seitô* women and heroines of modern plays, particularly Ibsen's Nora and Sudermann's Magda.

[25] Shôyô's lecture in Tokyo is reproduced in the journal *Waseda Kôen*. For Shôyô's revisions from the original lecture to book publication, see Nakamura Toshiko's *Nihon no Ipusen genshô: 1906-1916nen* (1997), pp.259-83.

figure of the (Western) New Woman. Shôyô evokes the New Woman figure as first emerging as a conceptual and particularly literary phenomenon, showing glimpses through various literary works and media outlets, by no means unified in its definition.

> Some see the New Woman as one that is bound to emerge in the new era, and others see her as an ideal woman who must be compelled to emerge. Some see her as unfeminine; some see her as a revolutionary woman emerging in reaction to the corrupt practices of successive generations, or as a kind of hateful and troublesome selfish woman born out of a chaotic society in transition. Whatever the case, the argument is not based on an examination of an actual person, as she has yet to exist in our country. We have only imagined or captured a shadow of her personality through newspapers, magazines, pioneering discussions, and foreign novels and plays.[26]

While recognizing certain exceptional women in Europe from the late 18th to 19th century (such as George Sand), Shôyô argues that the New Woman became a major phenomenon only in the past thirty or forty years in Europe. Although they are still unseen in Japan in reality, one has only to turn to the heroines of modern plays that are beginning to be performed in Japan, to imagine what they may be like. He advises the readers:

> Because this phenomenon has only begun to emerge in recent years, those unfamiliar with modern literature from abroad might associate the "New Woman" with figures such as Jitsukawa Enjaku's Anna or Matsui Sumako's Nora performed recently in Hauptmann's *Lonely Lives* and Ibsen's *A Doll's House*.[27]

The two plays mentioned here were staged by two major theater troupes in the New Theater (*shingeki*) movement, which aimed to reform Japanese theater through the staging of translated European plays. Ibsen's *A Doll's House* was performed by Shôyô's Literary Arts Society based

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[26] Tsubouchi Shôyô, *Iwayuru Atarashii Onna* (1912.4), pp.1-2.「或者は、「新しい女」をこれから自然に出て来べき新時代の女と解し、或者はこれから是非出て来るやうにせねばならぬ理想的の女と解し、或者は女らしからぬ女と解し、或者は累世の弊習に反動して生じた反抗的の革命婦人と解し、或者はまた過渡期の不秩序の社会が産んだ、一種の厭ふべき、始末におへぬ自儘女と解する。併しいづれも其 —実物はまだ、少なくとも我国には存在していないらしいから一正体を見届けた上での詮議ではなく、新聞雑誌や 先駆者の所説や外国の近世小説や外国の近世脚本やなぞで其性格を想像し若しくは其片影を捉へたに過ぎない。」

[27] Ibid, p.2.「 殊に平生外国の近代文学に全く縁の無い又は縁の薄い人々に至っては、或いは其噂を耳にするのも昨今なので、恐らく近頃演ぜられたハウプトマンの「寂しき人々」やイブセンの「人形の家」なぞを観て、莚若のアンナや松井須磨子のノ ラによって「新しい女」を連想するでもあらうかと思う 」

on Hôgetsu's translation, and Hauptmann's play was performed by Osanai Kaoru's Free Theater in October 1911 based Mori Ogai's translation. The two plays, performed within months of each other at the Imperial Theater, came to be known as New Women plays.

Shôyô further emphasizes the genre of theater as important in the depiction of New Woman figures. Because modern plays allow a certain level of exaggeration that is not possible in other genres such as novels (which he had famously claimed in his literary treatise *Shôsetsu shinzui* are based on realist principles), theater tolerates and even encourages its heroines to be striking and unusual. Shôyô particularly stresses the importance of actresses in making a play successful, whose visual prominence contributes to the arresting presentation of New Woman characters. Because actresses are often the central marketing pieces for a theatrical production, plays with atypical heroines tend to be more successful, and this, Shôyô argues, has partly to do with the birth of New Woman heroines on the stage. In light of Shôyô's argument, it is interesting to consider that Jitsukawa Enjaku (1877-1951) who played the part of the heroine Anna in Hauptmann's play was a male Kabuki actor impersonating the female role. Although one of the most immediate missions of the New Theater movement was to introduce actresses on the Japanese stage, the use of a female impersonator in Osanai Kaoru's theater troupe shows modern theater still in the period of transformation, and the degree to which Matsui Sumako's stepping on stage to enact the New Woman heroine caused a sensation.[28]

So was the New Woman only a product of the imagination, Shôyô asks. Literature and theater reflect life and create the "spirit of the times" (*jidai no seishin*), which is then reflected back onto life. Shôyô believes in the power of theater to inspire people into action, so that the exaggerated versions of New Woman figures on the stage will further influence its audience in

[28] For a discussion of the emergence of the modern Japanese actress in modern Japan, see Ayako Kano's *Acting Like a Woman in Modern Japan: Theater, Gender, and Nationalism* (2001) and Indra Levy's *Sirens of the Western shore: The Westernesque Femme Fatale, Translation, and Vernacular Style in Modern Japanese Literature* (2006).

real life. It is beneficial, therefore, to turn to masterpieces of modern theater in order to obtain a concrete idea of what may come about in the near future. Shôyô chooses Ibsen, Hermann Sudermann, and Shaw as three representative playwrights that deal with women's issues, and discusses their respective female characters as if they existed in real life. While Shôyô clarifies his intention in giving this type of character analysis, this isolation of the heroines from the work foreshadows the contemporary criticism of fiction within the New Woman discourse, in which heroines are taken out of context and judged for how progressive their attitudes and actions are, rather than considering the complexity of the narrative as a whole.

In the second half of the book "New Woman in Modern Novels," Sôma Gyofû continues Shôyô's genre analysis and argues that New Woman figures are far less conspicuous and successful in modern novels than in modern theater. Because of the emphasis on realism in the genre of the novel, the novelist tends to deemphasize his ideals or opinions in attempting to depict life "as it is" (*ari no mama*). Echoing the medical rhetoric of Naturalism, Gyofû writes that a novelist approaches life like a "doctor who is facing a carcass with a dissection knife."[29] The New Woman figures in modern theater can be incarnations of the writer's ideals, while modern novels give an analysis of ordinary women that have just begun to grasp at self-awareness. While modern plays focus on a vivid "moment" (*momento*) in a person's character or life, leaving a deep impression among the audience, readers of novels tend to identify with their heroines in a familiar way.

With this understanding of the modern novel, Gyofû discusses Grant Allen's novel *The Woman Who Did*, which was originally adapted for the Japanese audience by Hôgetsu in 1901. He takes the reader through the story by focusing on the twenty-two year old heroine Herminia, sometimes alluding to familiar names and events in Japan to give a tangible reference to the

[29] Tsubouchi Shôyô, *Iwayuru Atarashii Onna* (1912.4).

Japanese reader. Likening Girton College to Meiji Women's School or Japan Women's College, Gyofû explains that Herminia came to the women's college dreaming of a new age, just as a Japanese girl would come to Tokyo full of hope from the countryside. Disillusioned by Girton's education as being "only a pretense at freedom," Herminia drops out of college and makes her living in London as a school teacher and a journalist. While she rejects marriage from feminist principles, she sacrifices herself in suicide when her daughter Dolly, whom she had out of wedlock, turns against her upon learning her illegitimate birth. After summarizing the story in detail, Gyofû concludes that Herminia in fact does not fulfill the role of the New Woman, but is a cautionary model for what would happen if women were to act upon the ideals of women's liberation in contemporary English society. Rather than criticize the author for his ambivalent feminism as contemporary English readers did, Gyofû attributes this ambiguity to the characteristics of the novel as a genre. After analyzing two more heroines from Turgenev's *On the Eve* (1860) and Jonas Lie's *The Commodore's Daughters* (1886), Gyofû concludes that as opposed to modern plays, which present a variety of New Woman figures, modern novels reveal the ambivalent psychological process of *becoming* a New Woman, women who are on the brink of self-awakening.

***Seitô* as a Forum For Women's Literature**

As shown in Shôyô's and Gyofû's analysis of New Woman fiction and plays, the figure of the New Woman became an object of fascination for European male playwrights and novelists. Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* (1856), Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* (1877), Ibsen's *A Doll's House* (1879), and Zola's *Nana* (1880) are only major samples of many works featuring unconventional heroines that captured the minds of Japanese intellectuals. In fact, Japanese male writers had also depicted new types of educated and enlightened women in Japan's own context from the late

1880s, most notably in Futabatei Shimei's *Ukigumo* (Floating Clouds, 1887-89), Tayama Katai's *Futon* (The Quilt, 1907) and Natsume Sôseki's *Sanshirô* (Sanshiro, 1908). Yet, these women were always the hero's love interests, mysterious and unattainable. As the New Woman took center stage in Japan in the early 1910s, the women of *Seitô* declared their intention to take the pen in their own hands and to express themselves in the first person.

In the inaugural issue in September 1911, *Seitô* announced its birth as a venue for women's literature (*joryû bungaku*), clearly stating the journal's mission: "We aim to promote the development of women's literature, to allow women to demonstrate one's natural talents, and hereafter to give birth to female geniuses."[30] This idea of writer as "genius" (*tensai*) is carried over from the contemporary literary journal *Shirakaba* (White Birch, 1910.4-1923.8), which focused on the writer's development and realization of selfhood (*jiga jitsugen*).[31] The embracing of the gendered category of women's literature is inevitably problematic, as it renders their writings marginal to what is understood as mainstream literature, in this case secondary to the dominant venue of *Shirakaba* to which *Seitô* serves as a female counterpart. Interestingly, as critics have noted, this emphasis on literature was the original intention not of Hiratsuka Raichô but of Ikuta Chôkô (1882-1936), an influential critic who had encouraged Raichô to begin the women's journal in the first place. Raichô's original aim to urge "women's awakening" (*joshi no kakusei*) was revised by Ikuta into the wording that appeared in the inaugural issue, emphasizing the journal's literary dimension.[32]

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[30] *Seitô* (1911.9).「本社は女流文学の発達を計り、各自天賦の特性を発揮せしめ、他日女流の天才を生まむ事を目的とす」

[31] Tomi Suzuki, *Narrating the Self: Fictions of Japanese Modernity* (1996), p.94.

[32] See Yoneda Sayoko and Iwata Nanatsu's articles in *Seitô wo manabu hito no tameni* (1999), pp.11-12, 36-37. Yoneda speculates that it was perhaps to avoid government censorship following the Great Treason Incident in 1910 that Ikuta Chôkô advised Raichô to make *Seitô* a literary journal. Ikuta disassociates himself from the journal as the journal takes on an increasingly political dimension, and the words "women's literature" (*joryû bungaku*) disappear from the journal's mission from the fall of 1913.

It was also Ikuta who invited noted female literary figures to join the group as supporters and members. In the inaugural issue, seven literary figures are listed as supporters (*sanjoin*) – Hasegawa Shigure, Okada Yachiyo, Katô Kazuko, Yosano Akiko, Kunikida Haruko, Koganei Kimiko, and Mori Shigeko – and Tamura Toshiko is listed among the group of eighteen members (*shain*). The listing of the names of these female writers gives the semblance of an already established group or school within Japan's literary world, supporting future "female geniuses" to continue their legacy. In reality, the women were writing in a variety of genres and venues, and did not constitute any particular school or literary style. Nonetheless, with the backing of the names of female writers, varying in degrees of fame, *Seitô* appears to have gained the legitimacy of becoming a literary magazine, announcing the distinct category of "women's literature" to differentiate itself from other existing journals. On September 3rd 1911, the launching of *Seitô* was announced on the front page of *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* with the words, "the one and only women's literature journal" (*yuiitsu no joryû bungaku zasshi*).

The most established of the writers in the list was undoubtedly Yosano Akiko, and the positioning of Akiko's poem in the first issue was a strategic one that used her literary status to give credence to *Seitô* as a literary magazine. Akiko's poem "Sozorogoto" (Rambling Thoughts, 1911.9, *Seitô*) graced the opening pages of the inaugural issue, clearly positioned to serve as a manifesto for the journal's feminist endeavor. The first two stanzas indeed seem to serve their purpose in articulating the aims of *Seitô* as a feminist literary journal. The poem opens with a powerful image of the mountains moving, predicting the awakening of modern women into self-awareness and feminist consciousness.

> The day when mountains move has come
> Or so I said. But no one believed me.
> The mountains have simply been asleep for awhile.
> In their ancient past,

the mountains blazed with fire and they moved.
If you don't believe that either, fine.
But trust me when I tell you this –
All the women who were sleeping are awake now and moving.[33]

Akiko's evocation of the natural world and the "ancient past" (*sono mukashi*) shows a similar movement to reach back to antiquity that Raichô makes in her manifesto, "Genshi josei wa taiyô de atta" (In the Beginning, Woman Was the Sun), seeking to locate the source of women's strength in the forgotten ancient past in the effort to regain it. The last line of Akiko's poem serves both as a declaration and a call for awakening for Japanese women.

Having evoked the (re)birth of feminist consciousness, the poem proceeds to place the issue of women and writing to the forefront of this process of awakening, resonating with the literary dimension of the journal that encourages women to write under female editorship. The second stanza describes women taking up the pen and writing in the first person:

I desire to write entirely in the first person.
I am a woman.
I desire to write entirely in the first person.
I. I.[34]

The insistence on a first person narrative illuminates the power of the pen in gaining authority to speak for their own sex, reflecting the extent to which "woman" has served as a major topic in the male-oriented discourses since the Meiji restoration, as exemplified by the Woman Question (*fujin mondai*) and the depiction of female characters in literature by male writers. The poem stresses the necessity for modern women to create their own narratives by writing about their experience that stems from their own perspectives. The declaration "I am a woman" (*ware wa onago zo*) can be read not as an essentialist claim on sex or gender, but as a strategic re-

[33] *Seitô* (1911.9). The translation of Yosano Akiko's "Sozorogoto" has been taken from Jan Bardsley's *The Bluestockings of Japan: New Woman Essays and Fiction From Seitô* (2007), pp.253-256. In places, I have modified Bardsley's translation to a more literal translation in order to emphasize my reading of the poem.
[34] Ibid.

appropriation of their own subjectivity from the inscriptions of male writers. Indeed, the subject "I" is written in the gender neutral term "*ware*," showing a resistance against the expectation of *l'écriture féminine* that has been ascribed to women writers within the Naturalist discourse.

While the first two stanzas of the poem function as an evocative manifesto for the feminist literary magazine, the rest of the poem falls into a more ambiguous light. As Jan Bardsley points out in her study of *Seitô*, the imagery in the final stanza is contradictory to the image of emerging female power in the first stanza.[35] Already in the third stanza, the theme of women's awakening and re-appropriation of writing is shifted to the theme of female sexuality through the image of tousled hair, referring back to the central image in Akiko's collection of poems *Midaregami* (Tangled Hair, 1901.8). The erotic image evoked in the third stanza is an ambiguous mixture of vulnerability and strength:

> Across my forehead, and over my shoulders, too,
> stray tendrils of hair.
> As though I am being pelted and drenched under a hot waterfall.
> Like a flame jumping out of control, a deep sigh escapes me.
> He doesn't suspect any of this.
> He praises me now, yet one day soon, he will curse me.[36]

Through images of heat and water, Akiko's poem evokes the female body being pelted under a hot waterfall, both in the sense of being beaten down and thriving under it. Similarly, her deep sigh exudes both anguish and pleasure. The poem makes the claim that the complexity of female sexuality, the inner passion and abandonment, is incomprehensible to men, who will go on praising women or cursing them in their utter ignorance. Once again, we can read this assertive gendering and emphasis on women's experience not as an effort to mystify any essential nature of women, but as a symbolic attempt to regain women's authority in representing the multiplicity of their experiences in their own voices.

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[35] Jan Bardsley, *The Bluestockings of Japan: New Woman Essays and Fiction From Seitô* (2007), pp.249-53.
[36] *Seitô* (1911.9).

Within and Beyond the Feminist Context

Yosano Akiko's poem serves as a powerful call for women's self-expression. At the same time, it shows that literature allows for multiple readings and ambiguities that may hold incompatible elements with the necessary clarity of a feminist manifesto. Hiratsuka Raichô's initial ambivalence towards making *Seitô* a literary magazine already foreshadows her problematic relationship with Tamura Toshiko in years to follow. In the following pages, I will analyze two of Toshiko's short stories "Ikichi" (Raw Blood, 1911.9, *Seitô*) and "Seigon" (The Vow, 1912.5, *Shinchô*), both of which address the themes of a woman's sexual/sensual awakening, which were avidly discussed at the time within the feminist context. Rather than clearly articulate the inner thoughts of the female protagonists, the stories explore their minds and sensations on the level of the narrative through rich imagery, metaphor, and fantasy. The problematic relationship with language that Toshiko's protagonists have makes them unsuitable as New Woman heroines; yet the exploration of the relationship between women and language at the narrative level touches upon important aspects of the feminist critique of language, one that is central to *Seitô*'s mission of women taking the pen in their own hands. While none of the stories settle comfortably in the contemporary feminist context, the stories present complex portraits of women in various stages of life that give critical insight into contemporary women's issues, enriching the ground for a multiplicity of women's writing.

"Ikichi" (Raw Blood, 1911.9, *Seitô*)

Following the poet Yosano Akiko, Tamura Toshiko was probably the most recognized name that appeared in the table of contents page in the inaugural issue of *Seitô*. Just as Akiko's opening poem can be interpreted beyond its immediate feminist mission, Toshiko's short story "Ikichi," also published in the inaugural issue, confronts the themes of loss of virginity and

sexual awakening with a complexity that cannot be reduced to a feminist message. While the themes make the story fitting in a feminist literary magazine, they also provides an interesting contrast to the magazine's feminist mission of awakening (*kakusei*) and self-awareness (*jikaku*) because of its ambiguous treatment of the controversial subject. In fact, Akiko's poem and Toshiko's story resonate with one another in their shared ambiguous treatment of female sexuality, on the one hand celebrating it as a source of empowerment and on the other hand recognizing the potential violence inherent in it. In this sense, we can read Toshiko's work in the context of its publication, as well as beyond its feminist scope to an engagement with decadent aestheticism that came to color her works more and more in the years to follow.

The story traces the shifting, fragmentary thoughts and sensations of the protagonist Yûko as she spends the day with her lover Akiji, with whom she has presumably had an illegitimate liaison in a temporary inn near the downtown area of Asakusa. Yûko does not know how to articulate her emotions and thoughts through words, and the reader is instead led to interpret her state of mind through a rich layer of symbolism and metaphors on the narrative level. The text intertwines the languid sensuality that permeates the story with sudden bursts of violence, as if the heroine is re-experiencing the rude awakening from the previous night. While the story is about a woman's sexual awakening, the narrative illuminates the imbalance of power that is inherent in male-female relationship, especially when the woman is in a vulnerable social position as an unmarried woman. Yet, this violence and subjugation also seems to be a source of fascination and pleasure for her, and the story gives no conclusion to the heroine's ambivalence toward her sexual experience.

The text is permeated with recurring metaphors of aestheticized nature and performance, destabilizing the potential feminist narrative of a young woman who experiences and tries to

overcome what can be read as a traumatic sexual experience. In the opening scene, the natural world is described through images of clothing and personification:

> In every corner of the garden, red and white flowers lolled their heavy eyelids beneath a dimly glowing sky that cloaked the inn, much as the gossamer had draped her reclining figure the previous night before being rudely stripped off. Stealing up from the damp ground below, a silky breeze caressed the sole of Yûko's foot – the one dangling over the veranda's edge – and slipped softly away.[37] (*TTS*1, 187; Fowler, 348)

The garden is personified and aestheticized through the language of kimono and fabric, which produces a sensual effect of evoking the female body that is then doubled onto Yûko's body. The memory of the previous night still lingering in the morning, Yûko's surroundings are colored by her sleepiness and languid mood.

Playing with a goldfish and dressing the fish bowl with a flower petal, child-like, Yûko suddenly has a flashback from the previous night and impulsively pierces the eye of the goldfish. This symbolic reenactment of the loss of virginity is both an act of revenge toward the man and a self-destructive impulse toward her own body. Even at this moment of trauma, her grief and tears become aestheticized: "a kind of sweet nostalgia flowed with the tears, shed in the manner of a woman pressing her cheek affectionately against the breast of a long-lost love" (*TTS*1, 190; Fowler, 350).[38] In the original Japanese, the tears are expressed as "wearing" a "light dye" (*usuzuri*) of sweet memory, again returning to the kimono metaphor. The tears are not simply an expression of her sorrow, but become a decorative motif. Engulfed in the stagnant air, Yûko further fantasizes about being stifled to death by flowers, aestheticizing the vision of death: "then breathe her last, strangled by the dew that clung to the lotus blossoms shrouding her in her final

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[37] Unless noted otherwise, all the translations from "Ikichi" are taken from Edward Fowler's translation in *The Modern Murasaki: Writing by Women of Meiji Japan* (2006), pp.348-357.
「昨夜寝るとき引き被いだ薄ものをまだ剥ぎ切らない様な空の光の下に、庭の隅々の赤い花白い花がうっとりと眸をおもくしている。ゆう子の縁から片足踏み出した足の裏へ、しめった土から吹いてくる練絹のやうな風がそっと忍ぶやうにしてさわってゆく。」

[38]「自分の頬をひったりとなつかしい人の胸に押あてている時のやうな、そんな甘ったるさが涙に薄すりと色を着けてながれる」

sleep" (*TTS*1, 190; Fowler, 350).[39] Her response to her sexual encounter does not become verbalized; instead, she wallows in the sweet sorrow of her tears and aestheticized fantasy of death. As Yûko abandons herself to this enticing fantasy, she raises her eyes and sees herself in the mirror: "Her deep violet kimono was undone at the knee, revealing a redness underneath" (*TTS*1, 191). She is captivated by this vision of herself defiled, the red echoing the blood of the goldfish she has pierced, and this vision of red recurs in her mind throughout the rest of the day.

The couple steps out of the house and traverses through a maze-like city, which becomes a backdrop of the heroine's mind. As Maeda Ai has theorized, urban space became a site for the exploration of the modern individual's subjectivity by various Meiji writers such as Mori Ôgai, Higuchi Ichiyô and Natsume Sôseki.[40] In "Ikichi," Toshiko uses the cultural topos of Asakusa, a major entertaining district of Tokyo, to depict the heroine's subjectivity as she goes in and out of narrow alleyways and backstreets with her lover, always seeming to escape from the heat of the sun that scorches her in her shame. Having lost her voice, Yûko feels "physically constrained, as though her hands and feet were in shackles" (*TTS*1, 193; Fowler, 352),[41] as she allows herself to be led from place to place. The scene is dominated by the color red as they walk together under the sun, from the color of the kimono to the red lacquer color of the Amida Buddha temple hall, creating a web of imagery in the reader's mind.

Seki Reiko has pointed out that despite the heroine's inner turmoil, the couple appears to others as a typical middle-class couple, leisurely strolling through the city with their fashionable "light blue Western-style parasol" and "straw-colored panama" (*TTS*1, 192).[42] Their walk in the Asakusa district is portrayed as a temporary crossing of class boundaries, as Yukô throws her

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[39]「蓮花に包まれて眠るやうに花の露 に息をふさがれて死ねるものなら嬉しからう」
[40] See Maeda Ai's *Toshi kûkan no naka no bungaku* (1989), translated as *Text and the City: Essays on Japanese Modernity* (2004), for an analysis of urban space in modern Japanese literature.
[41]「両手も両足もきつい鉄輪をはめられたやうに、少しも身体が自由にならなかった」
[42] For Seki Reiko's analysis of "Ikichi," see *Ichiyô igo no josei hyogen* (2003), pp.62-67.

gaze at the women of the lower classes and becomes at the same time a receiver of the gaze. Yûko notices some women in the houses: a woman weaving with a soiled towel around her neck in the dark earthen floor; a woman wearing a sleeveless undergarment with exposed tanned arms giving singing lessons to her child. Seeing the virginal appearance of an apprentice geisha girl, she imagines her own body emitting "a foul odor reminiscent of rotting fish" (*TTS*1, 194; Fowler, 353),[43] connecting back to the carcass of the goldfish whose eyes she has pierced and left in the sun to rot. After her sexual encounter, she feels alienated from images both of domesticity and pristine beauty. Walking through a maze-like city in the image of burning hell, in which she "could feel her own hair being singed by the blazing sun" (*TTS*1, 194; Fowler, 353),[44] Yûko feels an exhibitionistic impulse to expose her "rotten flesh" (*kusatta niku*) to the eyes of strangers, echoing the carcass of the goldfish rotting in the sun. Her sense of sexual degradation makes her feel connected to the lower echelons of society, as she subjects herself to the lewd gaze of a group of professional women with painted white faces, *yukata* clinging to their skin with sweat and revealing bright red undergarments.

As if to hide their bodies from public gaze and shame, the couple enters a circus barn, a sphere of performance and stylization of the body. The stagnant air and moisture thickens as they enter the circus hut, where the previous night is replayed in her mind through the metaphor of the bat and the circus girl. The image of the girl's white powdered face and red sash looms larger and larger in Yûko's mind, as she replays the liaison of the previous night feeling "a wave of sultry, pungent air fondling her body" (*TTS*1, 197).[45] What snaps her out of this hypnotic state is the vision of the bat, reminding her of the violence hidden behind erotic desire. As the couple

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[43]「日光に腐爛してゆく魚のやうな臭気」

[44]「ゆう子は頭の髪の毛を火の炎でやき払はれるやうな気持ちがした」

[45] Here, I have altered the wording to a more literal translation in order to emphasize my point.
「蒸すやうな、臭い空気が、時々ゆう子の身体を撫でまわしてゆく」

exits the circus barn back into the streets, she imagines with grotesque pleasure the bat sucking the blood from the circus girl's body. With a self-destructive impulse toward her own body that is at the same time pleasurable, she lets him take her hand, abandoning herself to him once again.

The themes of self-destruction, narcissism, ambivalence, and performance place the story in a problematic position within the inaugural issue of the feminist journal *Seitô*. Toshiko's nuanced narrative combines an awareness of feminist issues and a decadent aestheticism that seems to stifle that impulse. While the symbolism is often over-determined (such as the piercing of the eye of the goldfish as a symbolic loss of virginity, or the bat sucking on the girl's body as violence inherent to sex), the evocation of the heroine's irrepressible sensuality, as well as the depiction of urban space in downtown Tokyo, makes the story a thought-provoking and haunting piece that contributed to her acceptance in the literary world as an up-and-coming woman writer. The themes of female sexuality, eroticism, and violence continued to be explored in her successive stories as Toshiko became a successful writer in the following years.

"Seigon" (The Vow, 1912.5, *Shinchô*)

While "Ikichi" depicted the psychological turmoil of an unmarried protagonist, "Seigon" explores the theme of a woman's marital struggle. Problematizing marriage had been a common literary theme by Meiji period female writers such as Shimizu Shikin and Higuchi Ichiyô; yet, what distinguishes Toshiko's writing from theirs is the candid portrait of female sexuality and sensuality. While the story ends with the heroine walking out of her marital home and making a "vow" not to return to her husband, resembling Ibsen's New Woman heroine Nora, the ambivalent and indecisive nature of the heroine once again gives the story an uneasy place in the feminist narrative. In fact, "Seigon" most clearly shows the problematic relationship between Tamura Toshiko and the feminist women of *Seitô* that "Ikichi" had suggested. On the one hand,

the story depicts a vocal and willful heroine, whose words "Whatever revulsion my manner might provoke in others, at least it is something I can call my own. So it is with my character. It, too, is my very own, repulsive or hateful though it may be to others" (*TTS*1, 247; Fowler, 363)[46] show a strong sense of self that resists succumbing to male dominance or social pressure. On the other hand, the heroine's indecision, narcissism, impulsiveness and irrationality place the work at odds with *Seitô*'s call for women's awakening and self-awareness. The heroine's self-abandonment to violence and problematic death wish seem to directly contradict the affirmative birth imagery with which Raichô opens her manifesto, "Genshi josei wa taiyô de atta," and the feminist strive for progress based on a positive attitude toward life.

The crux of the story lies in the vivid portrait of the heroine's sensuality, which fills the narrative with corporeal imagery. In a similar walk under the heat of the sun as depicted in "Ikichi," a married couple revisits the town of Ichikawa in the Eastern outskirts of Tokyo, where they had spent a day together three years ago prior to their marriage. In the opening pages, Seiko remembers the physical pleasure in the early years of their romance: "We were intoxicated by our newfound delight in caressing the other's shoulder or hair, a delight that sent the blood pulsing through our veins" (*TTS*1, 239; Fowler, 358).[47] Her emotions and thoughts are described through bodily metaphors; her happiness is felt as a tingling of the skin, and their relationship is described as a mingling of flesh and blood. As they visit a place where they had been as young lovers, Seiko once again desires to be "intoxicated" by the memory of their dizzyingly blissful affair.

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[46] Unless noted otherwise, all the translations from "Seigon" are taken from Edward Fowler's translation in *Modern Murasaki* (2006), pp.358-373. 「私の態度が誰れにも彼れにも反感を持たせやうとも、私の態度は自分のものなのです。私の性格が多くの人に爪はぢきをされやうとも、私の性格は自分のものなのです。」

[47]「お互の手が肩に触れたり頭髪に触れたりする度に、二人の血のをののきが二人の心の上に感じ合ふやうな新らしい楽みに酔っていたのでした」

This sensuality turns into violent eroticism as Seiko's frustration at her husband mounts, culminating in the image of her disheveled hair in the climactic scene, which plays a central part in the story as a metaphor for her uncontrolled sexuality. As the couple's argument turns into physical violence, Seiko's hair seems to take on a life of its own as it tangles around her body and the torn kimono.

> My left sleeve had split at the seam and dangled limply to the floor. I hadn't put my hair up after washing it that evening, and it was now a tangled mess, what with his pulling at it and my flailing about. Locks of hair hung over my eyes and ears like so many spider legs. They clung to my face and neck with a rank, sultry warmth that only drove me into greater frenzy. (*TTS*1, 255; Fowler, 367)[48]

Her disheveled hair suggests a strong eroticism that echoes Yosano Akiko's collection of poetry *Midaregami* (Tangled Hair), an image that was repeated in the poem "Sozorogoto" in the inaugural issue of *Seitô*. Just as Akiko's evocation of tangled hair contains an ambiguity behind the apparent celebration of the life-giving force of female sexuality, the tangled hair imagery in Toshiko's story suggests a violence that lures the heroine in the opposite direction from a positive affirmation of life. In an "orgasmic climax of her temper" (*zecchô no kanshaku*), she wishes for the death of her husband as well as her own.

As Seiko runs after her husband outside of the house, with her torn kimono and hair in disarray, he feels so threatened by her disheveled hair that he tells her to go back inside, repeatedly calling her a "madwoman" (*kichigai*). The husband's attempt to keep the "madwoman" out of public sight recalls Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar's feminist analysis of the mad wife figure in *Jane Eyre*, locked up in the attic as a dark symbol for female sexuality.[49]

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[48]「私の左の袖付は引きちぎれて袖がぶら下がっていました。 丁度夕方髪を洗ってその儘下げていたものですから、その毛が引き釣れたり、あの人の手で引きぬかれたり、私の耳や目に蜘蛛の足のや うに引っかかったりするのです。私はその毛がもやもやもやもやと、いきれた熱を含んで顔や頸に纏ひつくので尚更心が逆上してゆくのでした。」

[49] Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (1979).

In fact, it is Seiko's overpowering sexuality, her "manner… that bordered on degeneracy that led [her] to throw [herself] at any man" (*TTS*1, 251; Fowler, 365),[50] symbolized by her tangled hair, that makes her husband feel threatened and emasculated.

Seiko's sexuality is complicated by her narcissism, a recurring theme in Toshiko's writing, such that she aestheticizes her own body. Although Seiko does not acknowledge the potential promiscuity that her husband accuses her of, she constantly objectifies her body as part of a picturesque scene, so that even in moments of intense emotional grief, she dwells in narcissism and becomes performative. Remembering the early years of their love as she waits in vain for her husband to return, Seiko sees a vision of her body resting sensually against the cushion: "I used to rest my languid body after my bath while awaiting my husband's return, cheeks in hands, my elbows resting on the table" (*TTS*1, 259; Fowler, 370).[51] Imagining herself apologizing to her husband in a prostrate position, she thinks dreamily: "This was the beautiful scene I envisaged, of kneeling before my husband, my hands outstretched toward him…" (*TTS*1, 263; Fowler, 372).[52] Her husband's shattering of her vanity mirror during their fight thus symbolizes his attempt to break down her narcissism.

Reminiscent of Shimizu Shikin's feminist story "Koware yubiwa" (The Broken Ring, 1891.1, *Jogaku zasshi*), Toshiko's heroine saves the torn kimono as a relic of her failed marriage. Yet, it is not clear whether she will stick to her "vow," as she is driven out of her husband's house almost against her will. While the reader is left uncertain whether she has left her husband for good, what adds another dimension to the story is its narrative framework. As is made clear in the beginning and at the end, Seiko's story is framed by the narrative of another woman. We are

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[50]「どんな男にでもすぐ私の身体を投げかけさうな崩れた態度」

[51]「私はこの上に湯上りのだらけた身体を乗せて机の 上に頬杖をつきながら、よくあの人の帰りを待ったものでした」

[52]「私は自分の身体をあの人の前に投げだしてあの人に手を突いた時の、自分の美しい姿を考へても見るのでした」

left with the questions: Who is this figure speaking in the first-person? What is her relationship to Seiko? All we are told is that Seiko has moved into the second floor of another woman's house, which she may or may not occupy on her own. As Maeda Ai theorizes of the Meiji period, the second floor boarding room functions as a common topos in modern Japanese literature for male students who came to Tokyo to study and make a life for themselves.[53] In Toshiko's story, this space becomes occupied by a woman who has left her husband's home and must figure out a new way to live outside of marriage and the family system. The cohabitation of the two women show a new form of women's solidarity, made possible by women's higher education and venues like *Seitô*, which would not have been possible in an earlier age. Toshiko hints here at a new generation of women, educated and able to have professions by which to support their living, and the support networks that potentially give women an option outside of married life.

Tamura Toshiko and Yosano Akiko: *Yomiuri Shimbun* and the New Woman

While a close reading of her short stories show the ambiguous position Tamura Toshiko occupies within the feminist context, her success and visibility in the media soon made her a suitable candidate as a figure of the New Woman. While Toshiko was at first shadowed by the great legacy of Higuchi Ichiyô, who was already being canonized in the early 20th century as the greatest Meiji female writer, as I will explore in the next chapter, Toshiko was soon enveloped in the media gaze that placed her at a radical break with the past, fashioning her as a distinct and representative modern writer in the discourse of the New Woman. Along with Yosano Akiko, Toshiko came to be crowned the title of the New Woman (*atarashii onna*) in the field of the arts.

In response to the rising interest in the New Woman, *Yomiuri Shimbun* conducted a series of twenty-five articles titled "Atarashii onna" (New Woman, 1912.5), in which they gave a

[53] Maeda Ai, *Toshi kûkan no naka no bungaku* (1989), p.178.

biographical introduction of women involved in various professions. The first two women featured in the series were Yosano Akiko and Tamura Toshiko.[54] The fact that these two literary figures were chosen to kick off the series shows *Yomiuri*'s commitment to literature going back to 1889, when Takada Sanae and Tsubouchi Shôyô were invited to direct the literary section which led the two rising writers Kôda Rohan and Ozaki Kôyô to join the paper. Akiko and Toshiko were considered to be two leading women writers at the time, and these same two were to be selected as regular contributors for the Women's Supplement column (*fujin furoku*) that was added in April 1914.[55] This article, two years prior, shows *Yomiuri*'s early recognition of these women as two pillars of women's literature and how the category of women writers (*joryû sakka*) was being solidified. Each article was accompanied by a photograph, as if to give visual proof to the written description of the New Woman. The use of photography resonates with the element of visuality and performance that was central to the emergence of New Woman heroines in modern theater, creating an interesting dynamic in the dissemination of these so-called New Woman figures in various professions. Through the interplay of image and text, *Yomiuri*'s articles brought the heroines on stage to the realm of the ordinary household on a daily basis over the course of one month, making the New Woman familiar figures in the popular imagination.

In the first article to inaugurate the series, Yosano Akiko is presented as an established poet who is about to leave for Paris where her husband is already waiting for her. What immediately captures the eye is a picture of Akiko sitting demurely in a kimono, her feet together and hands placed neatly on her lap. Her head is slightly bowed downwards as she looks

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[54] Other women involved in literature and arts include Sôma Kokkô, Senuma Kayô, Matsui Sumako, Naganuma Chieko, and Hasegawa Shigure.

[55] While Toshiko established her literary reputation through publishing her fiction in major journals such as *Chûôkôron* and *Shinchô*, she also wrote miscellaneous essays for the more popular audience of the newspaper. After joining the *Yomiuri* literary column in 1914, she serialized two novels, *Kurai sora* (Dark Sky, 1914.4.9-8.29) and *Futatsu no sei* (Two Lives, 1916.7.7-11.24).

timidly into the camera, her mouth closed without a smile. But she is sitting in a chair. The article seems to echo this slightly old-fashioned, yet also modern portrait. Having announced her departure, the article gives a detailed description of Akiko's newly purchased kimono from Mitsukoshi department store, as well as her souvenirs for "actresses" she will meet abroad. Akiko is described throughout the article in feminine terms, such as "like a girl" (*shôjo no yôni*) and "in a feminine manner" (*onna rashiku*). Yet, the article emphasizes her position as the hardworking breadwinner of the family, recounting her struggles to earn money for her husband's trip to France while taking care of her seven children. Thus, she is celebrated both as a "genius of the Meiji poetry world" (*Meiji shidan no kisai*) as well as an embodiment of the "good wife, wise mother" (*ryôsai kenbo*). Having earned enough money to travel to Paris with her modern translation of *The Tale of Genji*, Akiko is summarized as the perfect balance of a "traditional, yet new woman" (*furuku shite atarashii onna*).

The favorable tone of Akiko's piece, lauding her devotion to her family as the Meiji ideal of *ryôsai kenbo* as well as her literary talents, reflects the newspaper's ambivalent attitude toward the New Woman figure, which was as much captured as was coming into formation. The article on Tamura Toshiko in the second installment of this series takes a different tone from Yosano Akiko's. In stark contrast with Akiko's photograph, Toshiko is captured sitting on the tatami floor with a big smile, leaning against her writing desk in an intimate, sensual manner. This gives the impression of a bright, young woman, strikingly bold and informal. The introductory paragraph praises her success and literary talents.

> Ms. Tamura Toshiko is said to be the most promising writer among women today. Her work *Akirame*, which was written in response to *Osaka Asahi Newspaper*'s advertisement, is invaluable not only in winning the 1,000yen prize, but also in establishing her name in the

> literary world. Her works following the prize are recognized as showing improvement from piece to piece. We cannot help but give a blessing to her future.[56]

Yet, despite the celebratory introduction as "the most promising writer among women," the article quickly departs from discussing her work. Instead, what jumps out are the subtitles in large bold letters, which read: "Her Role in *Nami*," "An Element of Her Beauty," "Men She Prefers," and "Photograph Nude."[57] These subtitles show that the article is a sensationally presented piece that focuses on Toshiko's body and sexuality, stemming from her experience as an actress.

Tamura Toshiko's acting career prior to her major debut as a writer indeed made her a perfect candidate as a New Woman in the public imagination. Toshiko stepped on stage for the first time as an actress in 1907, and graduated from Japan's first actress preparation school Imperial Actress Training Institute (Teikoku Joyû Yôseijo) founded by Kawakami Sadayakko (1871-1946) in 1908 as one of fifteen inaugural students. In October 1910, only one month before the announcement of *Akirame* as the winner of the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* competition, she performed a New Woman role in the production of *Nami* (The Waves) under the stage name Hanabusa Tsuyuko, as part of the New Society Theater Group (Shinshakai Gekidan), which, along with Shôyô's Literary Arts Society, sought to introduce Western theater to Japan. Her performance were well-received by leading critics such as Shimamura Hôgetsu, and Toshiko was compared to the popular actress Matsui Sumako, who is featured in this series "Atarashii onna" in the twelfth installment on May 30th.

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[56] *Yomiuri Shimbun* (1912.5.6).「田村とし子女史は今の女の作家のうちで最も有望な人であるといふ、大阪朝日の募集に応じた長編「あきらめ」は女史にとって金一千圓の懸賞金を得たこと以上に文壇に一地歩を占めさせた事に於て更に尊いものであった、その後の作も一編毎に進境を認めるとの事である、女史の未来を祝福せざるをえない。」

[57] Ibid.「「波」の一役」「美の一因」「好きな男」「裸体で撮影」

In addition to this image of the actress blending into her persona as a woman writer, the article gives insight into how much Toshiko manipulates her own media image and invites the curiosity of the journalist and reader. With the words "Just listen!" to draw the reader in, the journalist draws attention to their flirtatious banter as he was about to take her photograph, and recounts Toshiko's insistence that the best way to present her personality would be to photograph her nude. Furthermore, she presents herself as a connoisseur of men, claiming her preference for "willful men, but not insincere ones; polished men but not vain ones." While Akiko is portrayed as a wife and mother, Toshiko, though married, presents herself as a woman in her prime with unsubtle hints of promiscuity. It is also mentioned that although she is already 29 years old, she disguises her age with makeup, hair and dress, so that she looks like a woman in her early twenties. This article gives a good indication of how much Toshiko's success as a writer was fueled by the voyeuristic interest in this actress-turned-writer New Woman figure, liberated and sensual, a persona she took on with enthusiasm and good humor.

3. Performing the Decadent Woman Writer

The Discourse of Decadence

While Tamura Toshiko entered the literary world within the interrelated discourses of Naturalism and the New Woman, it was in the discourse of decadence that she became seriously considered as a leading woman writer of the period. The terms "fin-de-siècle" and "decadence" were just beginning to appear in the pages of *Shinchô* as Toshiko made her debut, and the publishing company Shichôsha played a key role in marketing Toshiko within this context. As Toshiko began publishing in the leading journals *Shinchô* and *Chûôkôron* from 1912 onwards, she became associated less with Yosano Akiko and the women of *Seitô*, and more with the male

writers placed within the school of aestheticism (*tambi-ha*), particularly with the young new writer Tanizaki Jun'ichirô (1886-1965). Toshiko increasingly came to be described in the media with key terms associated with decadence, most often with the word "artifice" (*gikô*). While this term also appears in discussions of writers like Tanizaki, it is notable that in Toshiko's case, the term is used not only to describe the style of her writing, but also to characterize the nature of the author herself. This shows a gendered bias toward the woman writer, who inevitably becomes an object of gaze at the same time that she is a creator of fiction. In this section, I will explore Tamura Toshiko's ambivalent position within the discourse of decadence, and how she manipulates the discourse in her fiction to explore the relationship between women and writing.

The discourse of decadence originates from Max Nordau's famous critique of civilization and denouncement of fin-de-siècle writers in *Degeneration* (Entartung, 1892), which became one of the most influential books of the decade in Europe. The work gives a sweeping analysis of fin-de-siècle art and thought as signs of the decline of civilization, and the term "degeneration" became a keyword at the end of the 19th century. Relying on the authority of science, Nordau denounces the literary avant-garde as regressive, categorizing modernist writers such as Nietzsche, Verlaine, Ibsen, Wagner, Zola and Wilde as decadent, and associating them with disease, criminality, and sexual and moral deviancy. Whether the work was received with praise or criticism, it became a foundational reference point for many literary critics. It was around 1902 that Nordau's work (both in the original and in the 1895 English translation) began to gain critical attention in Japan and enter into the literary discourse.

The discourse of decadence was first introduced in Japan by foreign literature scholars on the pages of *Teikoku bungaku* (Imperial Literature, 1895.1-1920.1). One of the earliest examples is the introductory essay "Dekadan-ron" (Theory on Decadence, 1903.5, *Teikoku bungaku*) by

the English literature scholar Andô Shôichirô. Following this, Katayama Masao, a scholar of German literature, published a series of essays titled "Shinkeishitsu no bungaku" (Neurotic Literature, 1905.7-9, *Teikoku bungaku*), in which he characterizes "neurosis" (*sinkeishitsu*) as the "illness of the fin-de-siècle era," claiming that these symptoms can be detected in almost every modern literature.[58] Differentiating the movement from an earlier period of European Naturalism, Katayama begins by giving a positive assessment of the literary men of decadence as Neo-Romantics, characterizing them as "escaping the mediocrity and roughness of Naturalism, and craving refined, mysterious ideals… seeking art in the inner universe."[59] While the essay begins with a laudatory appraisal of the so-called decadent literature, it suddenly shifts to a critical tone in the third installment. Claiming that Neo-Romantics are merely an extension of the most superficial aspect of Naturalism, Katayama argues that the overuse of "artifice" (*gikô*) that can be seen in Japan today is a sign of artistic "degeneration" (*taika*).

It was in the years following that Shimamura Hôgetsu published a series of essays on Naturalism, which became foundational theoretical texts.[60] As the discourse of decadence merged with the theorization of Japanese Naturalism on the pages of *Waseda bungaku*, critics began to employ the same tone of seriousness and artistic struggle to describe decadence as they did with Naturalism. While "degeneration" had an ambiguous connotation for Katayama, it was valued positively as a worthy goal by Honma Hisao, an important figure in the discourse of decadence particularly in relation to the reception of Oscar Wilde. In "Taihaiteki keikô to shizen-shugi no tetteiteki igi" (The Ultimate Meaning of the Degenerate Tendency and

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[58] *Teikoku bungaku* (1905.7).「神経質は実に十九世紀末即ち紀季 (ファンドシエークル)の時代病で有る」
[59] *Teikoku bungaku* (1905.8).「デカダンスの文学者に共通な点は、平凡粗鹵な自然主義を脱して、醇化した、深奥な理想を渇望して居る事で有る 。彼等は芸術を自然と云ふ外界に求 め無いで、内部の宇宙、即ち心界を型どらむとし（略）」
[60] Shimamura Hôgetsu, "Bungeijô no shizen-shugi" (Naturalism in Literary Arts, 1908.1, *Waseda bungaku*) and "Shizen-shugi no kachi" (The Value of Naturalism, 1908.1, *Waseda bungaku*). These essays were published in book form as *Kindai bungei no kenkyû* (The Study of Modern Literary Arts, 1909.6).

Naturalism, 1910.4, *Waseda bungaku*), Honma connects the different types of "degeneration" (*taihai*) to various national characters, aligning Russia with nihilism and England/France with decadence (with Wilde's protagonist Dorian Gray as the prototypical decadent figure). Turning to Japan, Honma claims that Japanese people have only peripherally tasted the feeling of nihilism and decadence without submerging into them completely, due to its national situation that had less material wealth than England but was not as dismal as Russia.

While the Japanese are generally caught up in old morals and traditions despite their discontents, Honma sees a future for the "degenerate spirit" (*taihai-teki kibun*) in the Japanese Naturalist movement. Placing Naturalism on a continuum with Romanticism as Katayama had done, Honma explains the rise of Naturalism within the discourse of decadence as an exploration of the deep struggles at the "core of life" (*sei no kakushin*). He calls degeneration the "future objective of Naturalism," arguing that we must "further pursue the Naturalist tendency and become more and more degenerate."[61] The connection between decadence and Naturalism can be witnessed in the abundance of key words that are used across the two discourses. Terms associated with decadence such as "licentiousness" (*hôjû*), "debauchery" (*tandeki*), "artifice" (*gikô*), "sensuality" *(kan'nô*) and "pleasure" (*kyôraku*), are laden with moral gravity by Naturalist terms such as "anguish" (*kumon*), "seriousness" (*shinkoku*), "pathos" (*hitsû*), "desolation" (*sakubaku*) and "enlightenment" (*godô*). Many of these terms appeared in the assessment of Tamura Toshiko in the following years, as she became established as a major literary figure.

Performing the Decadent Woman Writer

Tamura Toshiko effectively manipulated this discourse to create a literary persona of the decadent woman writer. While "Ikichi" already contained elements of decadent aestheticism that

[61] *Waseda bungaku* (1910.4).「自然主義の将来意義」「現在の吾々には益々自然主義的傾向を追うて、まだまだ頽廃になる必要があるのである」

rendered the story incompatible with the feminism of *Seitô* (such as its emphasis on clothing, languid mood, death drive, narcissism, and performativity), her subsequent stories "Ma" (A Demon, 1912.2, *Waseda bungaku*) and "Rikon" (Somnambulism, 1912.5, *Chûôkôron*) explore these elements even further, playing up to the image of the decadent woman to the dominantly male audience of the journals. On the other hand, the stories "Onna sakusha" (Woman Writer, 1913.1, *Shinchô*) and "Miira no kuchibeni" (Painted Lips of a Mummy, 1913.4, *Chûôkôron*) give a gendered critique of the idea of the "woman writer" while at the same time using the gendered category to explore the relationship between women and artistic production. In all four stories, Toshiko uses recognizable facts and incidents from her own life to invite the reader to give an autobiographical reading. Through an exposure or performance of her private life, Toshiko simultaneously creates and problematizes the literary persona of the decadent woman writer.

"Ma" (A Demon, 1912.2, *Waseda bungaku*)

Following the appearance of "Ikichi" in the inaugural issue of *Seitô*, the publication of "Ma" in the prominent literary magazine *Waseda bungaku* gave Toshiko recognition in the mainstream literary world. "Ma" is about a married female writer who revels in sexual fantasy with a young male fan with whom she has a letter exchange. The heroine's name Tokiko, which is strikingly similar to the author's own name, already suggests a sense of promiscuity with the *kanji* character of *toki* (Japanese crested ibis) being a jargon for licentiousness. Yet, while she claims to be "filled with wanton blood" (*TTS*1, 206),[62] the young man never takes on a real shape but is only an occasion for her to revel in this fantasy. Her fantasy is in fact self-contained and narcissistic, as described in the process of applying makeup in front of the mirror, which is both visually and sensually arousing. As she puts a hot towel over her face to settle the face powder, she finds the sultry smell evocative and endearing. The Japanese word used to describe this

[62] 「浮気な血ではりきってる」

feeling of arousal is "natsukashii," which often appears in Toshiko's writing connoting a sense of nostalgia tinged with sensuality. This autoeroticism continues as she exits the house and walks down the street, drunk on the smell of her own perfume which rises from her bosom.

Tokiko's fantasy continues to occupy her mind as she visits her two female friends. Makiko, who works for a Christian church with a female missionary from Vassar College, is portrayed as a sexually frustrated lesbian figure, whom Tokiko finds repulsive and strangely mesmerizing. Feeling Makiko's body pressed against hers, Tokiko gives a lingering description of her grotesque body:

> Makiko had a habit of getting incredibly sleepy after a while every time she saw her, as the festering blood swelled up her plump face. It was as if her murky blood, unable to find release, gradually melted the inside of her body and dulled her nerves. To Tokiko, it seemed as if Makiko's shoulders and thighs were throbbing.[63] (*TTS*1, 209-210)

While Tokiko feels revolted by this sexually frustrated figure, she cannot help imagining and being fascinated by her sexualized body. She displaces her own uncontrolled desires onto Makiko, whose corpulent body accosts hers in "spasmodic fits of affection" (*TTS*1, 209), to which she surrenders herself.

As shown in Tokiko's ambivalent fascination with her female friend, the sense of repulsion is simultaneously a source of enthrallment. Similarly, as we can see in "Ikichi" and throughout Tamura Toshiko's writing, death imagery comes hand in hand with eroticism. In her imagination, Tokiko is assailed by the image of her young suitor dragging her into the world of death, his bloodless, tenacious hands grasping at her warm arms. She revels in the fantasy of his desire for her body, which is described in violent and grotesque imagery that both repulses and fascinates her. This fantasy is so real to her that she is physically affected; feeling the cold, oily

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[63] 「巻子は何時逢っても少し話しているうちに直きに太った顔を倦んだ血にみなぎらして眠い眠いと云ふのが癖だった。吐きだしどころのない濁った血が、だんだん体内を溶かして行って巻子の神経を にぶらせるのではないかとも思はれた。巻子の肩や股が鴇子にはうづく様に見えた。」

sweat oozing out of the bottom of her foot, she impulsively starts running as if to rebel against something that drags her by the hair. While Tokiko tells herself that the letter writing is only a performance of romance, a grotesque play, she cannot help feeling aroused by the prospect of his desire for her. This arousal is mixed with a sense of disgust; she shudders as she imagines her fingertips touching "his wanton blood meandering under his skin and festering into cold white pus" (*TTS*1, 211).[64]

The story then shifts onto Tokiko's married life, where she shows her husband the young man's letter to provoke him. Stirred into jealousy, he describes her as a decadent woman: "He could perceive from her unrestrained appearance her listless, degenerate manner, as if she were slowly relishing the blood in her body as it permeates with the strong odor of liquor" (*TTS*1, 218).[65] As this description shows, Tokiko's fantasies merely offer a temporary, inebriated escape from the realities of her failing marriage, rather than give a more permanent state of self-fulfillment. As their argument escalates, she realizes that she is only desperately trying to provoke excitement or drama to make their stagnant marriage come to life. Yet, rather than taking action to achieve a fulfilled marital or sexual life, Tokiko merely indulges in her fantasies of the letter writer. The theme of frustrated marriage becomes a recurring theme in Tamura Toshiko's fiction, hinting and causing speculation for her own married life with the writer Tamura Shôgyo (1874-1948), as well as reinforcing her own image as a "licentious woman" (*hojû na onna*). This phrase, which becomes one of the phrases in the rhetoric of decadence, is repeatedly used by the media to characterize the author as well as by Toshiko herself to promote her own self-image as a decadent writer.

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[64] 「そうして男の皮膚の下をうねり流れている淫らな血液が白く膿みかかったやうな冷めたいものに、ついと自分の指先が触れたやうにぞっとした。」

[65] 「自分の身体の血がだんだんと強い酒の臭気のうちに浸みこんでゆくのをぢっと味はっているやうな、だるさうな崩れた素振りをその気侭な鴉子の居住ひから捉へることも出来た。」

"Rikon" (Somnambulism, 1912.5, *Chûôkôron*)

A few months after the publication of "Ma" in *Waseda bungaku*, Tamura Toshiko makes her debut in the two leading journals *Chûôkôron* and *Shinchô*, thus securing her position in the mainstream literary world. While "Seigon," which was published in *Shinchô*, explores the marital struggle between a young couple, Toshiko plays into the exoticism of girlhood in "Rikon," perhaps with a conscious catering towards the dominantly male intellectual readers of *Chûôkôron*. While "Ma" explored the autoerotic sensuality of a mature woman, "Rikon" explores the awakening of such sensuality in the twelve-year-old girl Ohisa, who is going through puberty. The story is told in a half delirious state of a young girl who is in bed from an illness, which the doctor diagnoses as a dizziness common to girls her age. The story depicts the girl's acute and feverish sensations as her body goes under a change, awakening to pleasurable sensations in her body while yet lacking vocabulary to express it.

As Ohisa lies in bed having missed the day's lessons in *kabuki* music, her fellow pupil Mokichi pays her a visit. Pulling herself from under the *futon* covers and smelling her own bodily scent emanating from beneath her clothes, Ohisa remembers how she has recently begun to feel pleasure with her own body:

> Staring intently at her white, round fingertips, she would find them unspeakably endearing – or, she would pucker her mouth against the smooth, soft skin of her arm, and feel attracted to the smell emanating from her skin as it is fermented by the saliva from her warm tongue.[66] (*TTS*1, 224)

She feels slightly embarrassed about this without knowing why. Ohisa plays with Mokichi as if he were a doll, and the sensation of his hands mingling with hers remain with her after he has left. Going in and out of sleep, she once again has a fit when she tries to get up. In a feverish state,

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[66] 「この頃のお久にはよくこんな事があった。自分の、色の白い先きの丸い手の指をしみじみと眺めて、自分ながらそれが何とも云えず可愛らしくなったり、滑っこい柔らかな自分の腕の皮膚などをぢっと何時までも口の中に含んでいて、その温い舌の先きの唾に蒸されて発散してくる肌の匂ひを、お久は自分でなつかしいものに感じたりする事があるのだった。」

Ohisa becomes hypersensitive to the cool sensation of the young doctor's silk kimono faintly brushing against her open chest, "her nerves gently quivering as if they were pulled by a string" (*TTS*1, 234).[67] While both incidents are intensely experienced on the sensual level, neither is processed by Ohisa on the conscious level.

After following Ohisa's inarticulate sensations in her delirious state of going in and out of consciousness, the story further deepens the enigma with a series of dreams. In the first dream, Ohisa attempts to go visit Mokichi but cannot cross the well in the backyard of her house, which has expanded from its normal size. Then suddenly waking up, Ohisa gets out of bed (in another dream) and walks in her sleep as if guided by someone. In the darkened living room, she sits in front of the vanity table mirror opening and closing the drawers. Going into the kitchen, she sees an old man's face outside, whom she thinks had called her to come. Following the old man with a black hat, she goes outside barefoot. She imagines a vast field spreading before her, and she cannot catch up with the old man no matter how fast she walks. He eventually disappears, and the vast field closes in on her.

The story ends with the narrator recounting how Ohisa's mother and the maid Oume had watched her as she walked outside barefoot in her sleep, and how Oume had saved her by grasping her body circling around the well. The two women had also watched Ohisa as she tried to imitate her mother in hair and dress in an inarticulate desire to grow up. The story depicts the world of women as a distinct and separate sphere, with the exception of Mokichi who is still a gender ambiguous child. In fact, the men appear in the story in three different stages in life – a child, a young doctor, and an old man. The young doctor's body overlapping with hers can be read as a symbolic initiation into a more mature sexual relationship that she may encounter in the

[67] 「絹らかい着物をしっくりと重ねた医者の胸が、仰に寝ていたお久の前にふさがった時 —、その冷めたさを含んだ絹の表の袂の先きがお久の開いた胸の肌に幽に触れた時 —、お久の神経は糸をひかれたやうに柔らかく震へていた。」

future. In her sleepwalking state, Ohisa moves from various spheres of womanhood, from the bedroom to the vanity table to the kitchen. Who is the old man that calls her out of the house? What does the well signify? The dreams are not explained, and the story is left enigmatic. The young girl's mind is left veiled in a layer of delirium and dreams, inviting the interpretation of the readers of *Chûôkôron*.

"Onna sakusha" (Woman Writer, 1913.1, *Shinchô*)

The story "Onna sakusha" came to be regarded by her contemporaries as the most autobiographical piece written by Tamura Toshiko, one that gave proof to the persona of the decadent woman writer. Originally published in *Shinchô* under the title "Yûjo" (which can be translated as "Woman of Pleasure" or "Prostitute"), the story was retitled as "Onna sakusha" (Woman Writer) when it was included in her collection of short stories *Seigon* (The Vow, 1913.7, Shinchôsha) published a few months later. As her representative work, it also became the title for Toshiko's 1917 volume in Shinchôsha's forty-four volume *Daihyô-teki meisaku senshû* (Collection of Representative Masterpieces, 1914-26). While the theme of a woman's struggle with creative fulfillment had been central to her writing as early as her novel *Akirame*, Toshiko begins to place the gendered figure of the "woman writer" in the foreground of her works as she increasingly came to be celebrated as a leading woman writer. As the original and revised titles show, the story gives commentary on the ambiguous position of the woman writer as a public figure that is both empowered and sexualized. Using "face powder" as the central metaphor, Toshiko portrays the woman writer as a figure of decadence, showing acute consciousness of the intricate relationship between gender, writing, and performance. Toshiko's familiar themes of narcissism and sensuality bordering on masochism come together in this story in a stylized manner that merges with artistic creativity.

The title "Onna sakusha" is a pun on the theatrical role of "*onna yakusha*," a female actor that has been professionally trained as a kabuki-style female impersonator (*onnagata*), which is normally played by a male actor. With thick face powder, rouge, elaborate costumes and wigs, these female impersonators cultivated a stylized art that represented caricatured femininity. With the association of the kabuki tradition of male actors impersonating the female, Toshiko treats gender not as something natural and inherent, but as a highly elaborate and stylized performance. Putting the naturalized relationship between gender and writing into question, the story shows how the protagonist consciously imitates the *écriture féminine* as imagined by male writers, playing the role of the imagined woman writer that has no original. It is through this very gender performance that the protagonist achieves inspiration for writing. Like the *onnagata* female impersonators of kabuki, it is through performing the imagined feminine that the protagonist gathers inspiration to write as a woman writer, and to give life to that fictional persona.

As represented by Matsui Sumako's performance of Nora in Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, the actress was heralded as embodying an imagined natural womanhood in contrast with the male *onnagata* actors impersonating female roles.[68] Toshiko exposes this process of naturalization in her story by giving central importance to the application of face powder in the process of literary creation, placing emphasis on the performative aspect of the gendered writer. Makeup gives the writer sensual pleasure and artistic inspiration. Interestingly, what gives her pleasure is not the visual achievement of makeup, but the sensual process of the face powder melting with the oil of her own face, suggesting a sense of decay and degeneration. Furthermore, while her husband pressures her to write about the details of her own life, echoing the rhetoric of Naturalism in

[68] Ayako Kano discusses how the actress came to epitomize the new definition of womanhood as essentially rooted in the physical body of the woman, which marks a shift from the previous idea of gender defined as theatrical achievement. Indra Levy further argues that it was the modern Japanese actress's enactment of the Westernesque woman on stage that enabled the establishment of the essentialist view of the woman. See Ayako Kano's *Acting Like a Woman in Modern Japan* (2001) and Indra Levy's *Sirens of the Western Shore* (2006).

which autobiographical facts become a source of fiction, she counters this suggestion by hopping around the room watching herself in the full-length mirror as if watching a performance.

With face powder (*oshiroi*) as the central image, the boundary between natural and artificial becomes blurred as the act of writing becomes closely associated with the author's corporeality. The protagonist struggles to achieve writing that is in tune with her sexuality and bodily desires: "a single meaty word" or "half a phrase that smells of blood" (*TTS*1, 295).[69] In the struggle to achieve this corporeal writing, however, the idea of disguise and performance comes to the foreground, causing an inversion of what is natural and artificial. What makes the woman writer's body come alive and recognizable is the face powder that covers her face. Through the sensual effect of face powder – enhanced by smell, touch, and sight – she is able to feel in touch with the warmth of her own body, attaining "the liberated feeling of abandoning one's heart to wanton blood and warm flesh" (*TTS*1, 297).[70] It is through the protagonist's awareness of caricatured femininity and the elaborate process of gender performance that the woman writer is born.

Just as Tamura Toshiko came to be disassociated with the feminist women of *Seitô*, the protagonist's predilection for aestheticism and performance is portrayed as incompatible with feminist ideals. She compares herself to a female friend who aims for a marriage based on platonic love so that she can be independent and free to pursue her own artistic aspirations. In contrast to this enlightened New Woman figure, the protagonist is aware of her bodily desires, no matter how much she suffers from the consequences. It is through embracing her sexuality, rather than denying it, that she can create her art. Erotic desire, with all its potential violence, is portrayed as an inspiration for art.

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[69] 「肉の付いた一と言」「血の匂ひのする半句」
[70] 「自然と放縦な血と肉の暖みに自分の心を甘へさせているやうな空解けた心持」

"Miira no kuchibeni" (Painted Lips of a Mummy, 1913.4, *Chûôkôron*)

If "Onna sakusha" was read as an autobiographical account of the author's current life, "Miira no kuchibeni" was read as a glimpse into life before her success, of how the author came to be a successful professional writer. The real-life elements of Toshiko's life are easily recognizable in this female *Künstlerroman*, such as her marriage to an unsuccessful writer, her brief experience on stage as an actress, winning the newspaper writing contest, and portraits of actual persons in the literary world. These elements are mixed with themes that are shared with many of her previous works, such as violence, narcissism, masochism, performativity, and fascination with the grotesque. While much of the story seems to be a retelling of her other short pieces in one long narrative, the backdrop of a cemetery as a continual presence behind the protagonist's life adds a dark, erotic element to the story. While violence and death imagery are regular themes throughout Toshiko's works, they never take such central stage as they do in this work. The story shows Toshiko retelling the story of her commercial success as a woman writer, exploring the gap between practical life and ideals of decadent art.

The story alternates between a realistic portrait of life in poverty and the protagonist Minoru's decadent artistic fantasy closely associated with images of death. Towards the beginning of the story, Minoru is portrayed reading all day on the second floor of the house while her husband is out trying to earn money for their living. Artistic preoccupation is not only disassociated from finance but also from life itself, as Minoru's act of reading is imagined as a wandering in the cemetery.

> Minoru would spend all day reading before the wide-open windows on the second floor, exposing her face to the sun whose intense heat resembled a child's fingernail scratching the body. It was often when she was alone that she tasted new phrases flooding into her mind through reading. Page after page, various scenes drenched in the fragrance of art would silently guide her heart, withered and shriveled like crumpled silk from aimless longing, to faraway lands of illusion. In moments like this, Minoru would wander around the cemetery in

> excitement with flushed cheeks ready to shed blood with the slightest cut. She would be so touched by everything that she would shed tears of pathos even for a tiny branch of thorn that pricked her sleeve. She would even push her forehead against some unknown gravestone unable to contain her irrational rush of emotions. Her eyes full of tears, Minoru would walk aimlessly around Tennôji Temple that colored the dark corners of the deep twilight sky, through the enormous dark green pine trees and the cherry blossoms blooming in profusion.[71] (*TTS*1, 322-23)

In this passage, artistic inspiration is described in corporeal terms as a flowing of blood. Yet, this blood imagery does not suggest a life-giving force, but a decadent longing for death. Later in the story, Minoru is once again in the realm of the cemetery as she thinks about her own life in relation to her longing for art. Feeling the blood flowing wildly in her blood vessels, she walks in utter darkness that embraces her. Hearing her own piercing cry in the cemetery in confusion, Minoru becomes doubled with the dead women who haunt the grave, as if she is plunging into the world of death to the point of no return. Yet, this plunge toward death, or artistic life, is not fulfilled in the story, but returns to a realistic narrative of her married life. It is never made clear whether Minoru's sojourn in the cemetery is real or imagined.

"Miira no kuchibeni" is full of gendered metaphors in describing the relationship between life and art. As expressed in the phrases "male life" (*otoko no seikatsu*) and "female art" (*onna no geijutsu*) (*TTS*1, 338), art is placed on the side of the feminine and in opposition to everyday practical life which is characterized as masculine. Associated with "play" (*asobi*), Minoru's

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[71] 「そうして二階の窓を開け放つて、小供の爪の先きが人の肉体をこそこそと掻きおろしてくる様なきつい温さを含んだ日光に額をさらしながら、みのるは一日本を読んで暮らした。読書からみのるの思想の上に流れ込んでくる新らしい文字も、みのるは自分一人して味わう時が多かつた。そうして頁から頁への芸術の匂いの滴った種々な場景が、とりと めのない憧憬の爲に揉み絹のように萎えしぼんだみのるの心を静に遠く幻影の世界に導いてゆく時、みのるは興奮して、その頬を一寸傷づけても血の流れそうな逆上した頬をして、そうして墓地の中を歩き廻った。袖にさわつた茨の小枝の先きにも心を惹かれるほど、みのるの心は何も彼も懐しくなって涙が溢れた。無暗と騒ぎ立つ感情の押へようもなくなつて、誰とも知らない墓場の石にその額を押し付けた事もあつた。ぬきんでた様な青い松と、むらがってる様な咲き乱れた桜と、夕暮れの空の濃い隈をいろどっている天王寺のあたりを、みのるは涙を溜めながら行ったり來たりした。」

artistic pursuits are criticized as "a woman's disposition to play in the world of art" (*TTS*1, 350).[72] The commercial success that Minoru's art brings towards the end of the story is thus described as a result of pure chance. While the story on the surface narrates Minoru's commercial success and financial independence as a woman writer, it ends by harkening back to the image of decadence with an ambiguous dream of two mummies, male and female, lying on top of each other as if to enact love-making. The female mummy seems very much alive with her eyes gaping towards the sky and her bright red lips. The final vision of the story is a vampire-like woman, herself a corpse, sucking the life out of her male partner as if to announce the triumph of the artistic feminine. Waking from the dream, Minoru immediately goes to her writing table to take inspiration from this dream, as her husband Yoshio remains in the ordinary realm of everyday life, stroking their pet dog. In the retelling of her life story, Toshiko takes a flight into the world of decadent fantasy in exploring the potential of art in relation to life, dramatizing the gap between the two realms that seems utterly incompatible yet also deeply connected.

Shinchô: Decadence and New Woman

Toshiko's short stories were published alongside the interrelated discussions of decadence and the New Woman, cementing her public image as a decadent woman writer. *Shinchô*'s interest in the two discourses comes together in the figure of Toshiko, who becomes positioned as the leading woman writer within the journal as well as for the publishing company Shinchôsha. In the 1910s, *Shinchô* began its long continuing series of special features where individual authors were discussed by other illustrated figures in the literary world. Following a series of major figures in the Meiji period (Natsume Sôseki, Shimazaki Tôson, Tayama Katai, Mori Ogai, Mayama Seika, Kunikida Doppo, Futabatei Shimei, Takayama Chogyû, and Kitamura Tôkoku), the first special feature to open the Taishô period was Tamura Toshiko, who was also the first

[72] 「芸術に遊ぼう遊ぼうとする女の心持」

woman to be featured. By this time, Toshiko had already published two of her major works "Seigon" and "Yûjo" (or "Onna sakusha") in *Shinchô*.

The special feature on Tamura Toshiko (1913.3) appeared in *Shinchô* at the height of the interest in the New Woman, just one month after *Seitô* conducted two special issues on the New Woman and the Woman Question (*Fujin mondai*).[73] The opening remarks to the collection of six essays clearly state the editor's intent, which is to present Toshiko as a representative New Woman and a leading woman writer:

> Ms. Toshiko is one of the New Women born in the new era. Her art has entered the stage of ripeness and maturity, and her recent works show her to be a leading figure among women writers [*joryû sakka*]. Here, we ask various established writers who are intimate with Toshiko to evaluate her as a person and as an artist. This is our first step towards the study of the New Woman, which has gained strong public opinion in recent years.[74]

While this brief introduction recognizes her literary talents, it also shows that this special issue was formed not merely in order to evaluate Toshiko's works, but rather to showcase the author as the leading example of the New Woman. It is in fact a "study" (*kenkyû*) of the New Woman phenomenon through this living example, so that readers can get an insight into the social phenomenon through the portrait of the woman writer.

Despite the opening paragraph's declaration of Toshiko as an enlightened New Woman with a successful literary career, this is simultaneously made ambiguous by the visual image on the first page that links her to a decadent image. Next to the title *Tamura Toshiko ron* (Essays on Tamura Toshiko), there is a decorative illustration of a woman's face and figure with the words

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[73] In the same issue as the special feature on Tamura Toshiko in *Shinchô*, there is the essay "Dekadan to iukoto" (On Decadence), which links together decadence and Naturalism as significant tendencies in literature. Also included is Toshiko's book review "Yonda mono nishu" (Two Pieces I Read), in which she reviews Ikuta Chôkô's translation of Gabriele d'Annunzio's *The Triumph of Death* (1894) and Okada Ychiyo's *Enogu-bako* (Paint Box).

[74] *Shinchô* (1913.3).「とし子女史は新しき時代の生みたる新しき女性の一人也。彼の女の芸術は今や円熟渾成の堂に入って、其の近作数種の如きは、実に女流作家として独歩の観あり。今、女史に親近なる諸大家の高見を叩いて、人として芸術家として女史を評価し 品隲す。是れ、最近囂々の世評ある新しき女を研究せんとする、我徒の企ての第一歩也。」

"LA DAME AU CAMELLA," which is a misquotation of the novel *La Dame aux camélias* (The Lady of the Camellias, 1848) by Alexandre Dumas fils.[75] The drawing of the woman is obviously a caricature of Toshiko, whose close-up photograph the reader sees on the following page. The illustration is a decorative portrait of a woman wearing a kimono with a Japanese hairstyle, holding a single camellia in her dainty hand with a fixed smile on her painted face. This incorporation of Japanese themes in the Art Nouveau decorative style is common to the paintings of *femme fatale* women by fin-de-siècle artists.[76] Here, Toshiko is doubled as Dumas fils' heroine Marguerite Gautier, a high-class courtesan who lives a life of extravagance, an embodiment of the decadent *femme fatale*.

This illustration adorning the front page of the special feature shows how the view of Tamura Toshiko as a successful woman writer and a New Woman was always on the verge of slipping into the seductive, decadent figure of the *femme fatale*. This discordance and slippage shed light on the very instability of the term New Woman, internalizing a voyeuristic curiosity and exoticism at the same time that it is taken on as an identity by progressive women. Furthermore, the play version of *The Lady of the Camellias* had been staged two years earlier in April 1911 at the Tokyo Imperial Theater, and this association with a heroine so closely related to theater highlights Toshiko's experience as an actress on stage. The essays that follow reveal the unsettling position Toshiko occupies in relation to the term New Woman, as her fictional works are interpreted through her experience as an actress and through a fascination for her physical body.

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[75] *La Dame aux camélias* (1848) became hugely successful when it premiered as a play at the Théâtre du Vaudeville in Paris on February 2, 1852, and was further immortalized through Verdi's opera *La Traviata* the following year. In Japan, the novel was partially translated as early as 1884, but became known through Osada Shûtô's translation of the play version (also by Dumas fils) in 1896, followed by his translation of the novel version in 1903. The play was staged in June 1903 at Masago-za based on Shûtô's translation, and again in April 1911 at the Tokyo Imperial Theater from Matsui Shôyô's translation. In both occasions, the heroine was performed by male *kabuki* actors.

[76] A good example is the Viennese painter and illustrator Gustav Klimt, who took inspiration from Japanese kimono and painted screens by the Rimpa School. *Shirakaba* featured Gustav Klimt in the May 1912 issue.

The essay "Katei no hito to shite no joshi" (Ms. Toshiko at Home, 1913.3, *Shinchô*) sets the tone for contemporary criticism on Toshiko in its attention to the author's body, autobiographical reading of her works, and comparison to Ibsen's heroines. Although the essay is marked anonymous, it is obviously written by her husband Tamura Shôgyo. Just like the caricature of Toshiko as a high-class courtesan, this essay begins by directing the reader's imagination to Toshiko's physical allure, put on for the pleasure of the male gaze.

> When Ms. Toshiko meets other people, she never keeps her body straight. She twists her plump, voluptuous body left and right, creating a soft agreeable curve. There is also a sweet quality to the tone of her voice that clings to the listener, and she has, whether consciously or unconsciously, a natural artfulness [*gikô*] to attract men's hearts.[77]

The essay draws attention to Toshiko's body as sensual and promiscuous, emphasizing the performativity of her charm as expressed in the term "*gikô*" (artfulness). The oxymoronic phrase "natural artfulness" summarizes the contradiction in Toshiko's position as a decadent figure in the rhetoric of Naturalism.

Having guided the attention to the author's body, Shôgyo further invites an autobiographical reading of Toshiko's fiction by referring to actual incidents that appear in her works. This illuminates the tautological relationship that characterizes the reception of Toshiko's works, whereby the author's literary persona is created through her fiction, and her works are in return read through the aura of the author's literary persona. Shôgyo refers to the letter exchange with a young man, which is fictionalized in her short story "Ma," giving away that the writer of the essay is indeed the writer's husband. Furthermore, Toshiko is doubled with the image of her main character in "Onna sakusha," who physically assaults her husband in fits of hysteria. By acknowledging these stories, which discloses the intimate problematic relationship between

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[77] "Katei no hito to shite no joshi," *Shinchô* (1913.3).「とし子君は人と会う時に、決して身体を真直ぐに して居るやうなことはない。肉付きの好い豊満な身体をグニャグニャさして、軟らかな快い曲線を作って見せる。其言葉の調子にも絡み付いて来るやう な甘いところがあって、有意識か無意識か分らぬけれども、可也男の心をアットラクトする自然な技巧を持って居る。」

husband and wife, Shôgyo conversely seems to inform the reader that Toshiko's seemingly autobiographical fiction is a performance in which he also takes part.

Shôgyo's essay points to the ambiguous position Toshiko occupies within the New Woman discourse. Comparing her to Ibsen's heroine Nora, Shôgyo declares that she falls short of this representative New Woman figure:

> [Ms. Toshiko] would not abandon her husband, her child and her home in order to escape and pursue her own ideals, like Nora does in *A Doll's House*. She is rather like a Nora that has already been awakened, who puts her self-awareness aside and continues to take care of her husband and home, just as she did before the awakening.[78]

Bringing Ibsen's *A Doll's House* into comparison, Shôgyo paints a picture of a realistic woman who, despite her awakening, does not change her life dramatically. Referring to the title of her novel *Akirame*, Shôgyo claims that Toshiko lacks the courage to enter into a free and meaning life because of her "resignation" (*akirame*), once again tying fiction to life.

Toshiko's ambiguous position as a New Woman and the fascination towards her body can also be seen in the essay by Morita Sôhei, who had served as a judge for the *Osaka Asahi Shimbun* writing contest and wrote a preface for *Akirame*. In "Atarashiki onna to shite no joshi" (Ms. Toshiko as a New Woman, 1913.3, *Shinchô*), Sôhei at first validates Toshiko's New Woman status for her acute "observing eye" towards life and society, so that "educated men" do not feel the need to compromise when they speak to her. Yet, this status is questioned by the claim that it is her "childish egotism" and "vanity" that make her unique as a New Woman. Likening Toshiko to the writer-turned-actress heroine Reiko in her story "Chôrô" (Mockery, 1912.11, *Chûôkôron*), Sôhei describes her as "sensual" (*kan'nô*) and full of "artifice" (*gikô*), always adorning her body and face in full dress and make-up. In a move to equate her body and

[78] Ibid.「「人形の家」のノラのやうに、自己の思想なり考へなりを徹底させる為めに、夫を捨て、子を捨て、家を捨てて逃げ出すやうなことはない。とし子君は自覚してからのノラが、自覚は単に自覚として、矢張りそれ以前のノラのやうに、夫の世話をしたり、家の面倒を見たりして居るや うな人だ。」

writing, Sôhei expresses the wish that Toshiko's fiction would become less superficial and more solemn – "without face powder and her hair in a bun"[79] – just like what he imagines her natural beauty to be like. Rather than characterizing Toshiko's nature as innately artful as Shôgyo had, Sôhei fantasizes some kind of hidden natural state lurking beneath the artful surface.

Another writer who disqualifies Toshiko from the New Woman status is Sôma Gyofû. Gyofû recognizes Toshiko to be a talented writer, especially in portraying young women who are caught in emotional turmoil and yearn for freedom; yet he feels that she is too "passive" (*shôkyoku-teki*) and "unaware" (*mujikaku-teki*) to create a "new life" (*atarashii seikatsu*). As a supporter for the New Woman cause, as we saw in his contribution to Shôyô's book on New Woman heroines, Gyofû expresses the hope that Toshiko will become more "active" and "newer and stronger with more awareness" in the future.[80]

In contrast to the other essays, Naturalist writer Tokuda Shûsei accepts Toshiko as a New Woman by continuing the analogy of Ibsen's heroine, this time to the character of Hedda Gabler. This repeated analogy to Ibsen's heroines underscores how the idea of the New Woman was inseparable from modern theater, and shows how Toshiko's own experience on the stage played a part in fashioning her as a representative figure. Remembering her role in the play *Nami* (Waves) as an actress, Shûsei sees Toshiko as having an "efficient, intelligent and masculine attitude,"[81] insisting that she is a woman of "will" (*ishi*). Furthermore, he compares her to Yosano Akiko, who was, together with Toshiko, featured in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* series on the New Woman. Of the two, Shûsei claims that Toshiko is better suited to have an "artistic life"

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[79] Morita Sôhei, "Atarashiki onna to shite no joshi," *Shinchô* (1913.3).「今度は最う少ししんみりした方面 —白粉気抜きの髪をぐるぐる巻にした方面の女史が出るやうな作物にも接したい」

[80] Sôma Gyofû, "Geijutsuka to shite no saibun to soshitsu," *Shinchô* (1913.3).「私は何よりも女史の態度のもっと積極的に向ふ事を希望します。もっともっと自覚的に新しく強くなられる事を希望します 」

[81] Tokuda Shûsei, "Hito to shite mata geijutsuka to shite," *Shinchô* (1913.3).「テキパキした、理智の勝った、男性的の態度」

(*geijutsuteki seikatsu*) because she has no children. While Shûsei sees Toshiko as a progressive New Woman and artist, his rhetoric shows the gender assumptions that align art with masculinity, disassociating it from domesticity and motherhood.

The only woman's voice in this group of essays is Higuchi Katsumiko, an old classmate of Toshiko's from the women's higher school. She recounts how Toshiko had entered the literary world first through the apprenticeship with Kôda Rohan, then became established as a woman writer with her novel *Akirame*. Her remarks about how Toshiko's friends became distant to her when she began to go on stage and write fiction – "From an ordinary woman's perspective, it would seem quite unexpected that a woman would go on stage" – poignantly shows how these professions were regarded during this time.[82] Her essay appears short and diminutive among the *Shinchô* essays, showing how the discourse of the New Woman was originally developed by male intellectuals who tried to make sense of new types of educated women gaining prominence in society. The women of *Seitô* would begin to respond to the New Woman phenomenon in the following years, as well as to Toshiko's success as she gained prominence.

Advertisements & Reviews by Shinchôsha

Shortly after the special feature, Shinchôsha published a collection of short stories by Toshiko with the title *Seigon* (The Vow, 1913.7). The series of advertisements and reviews accompanying this publication shows how the rhetoric of decadence already begins to consume the characterization of Tamura Toshiko as a woman writer. As an advertisement on *Yomiuri Shimbun* shows, Toshiko's work continues to be marketed as "women's literature" – expressed in the phrase written in bold and larger font, "evidently divine work" (*akiraka ni tenpin*) and "height of women's literature in Japan" (*honpô joryû bungaku no chôten*). Yet, the language

[82] Higuchi Katsumiko, "Hansei no keireki to sono seikaku," *Shinchô* (1913.3).「殊に女として舞台に上るなどと云ふことは普通の女の方の心持にしますと意外なことなのでせう」

slips into that of decadent aestheticism full of evocative and lyrical metaphors, describing the book as a beautiful object: "like a pink dream melted inside a celadon porcelain bottle, like ringing a line of silver paint in a haze of dim purple."[83] The advertisement also brings the attention to the materiality of the book itself, claiming that the bookbinding is "elegant" (*kôga*), playing up the image of an expensive and feminine aesthetic object. Furthermore, the advertisement is coupled with Tokuda Shûsei's new work *Tadare* (Festering, 1913), as if Toshiko's work is a female counterpart to this leading Naturalist writer. As opposed to the evocative wordplay surrounding Toshiko's book, Shûsei's book is described as portraying a "daringly expressed miniature" of contemporary society, revealing the gender bias in marketing.

The advertisement is accompanied by a review of Toshiko's book by a regular *Shinchô* critic by the pseudonym Rokuhakusei. The book review reiterates the keywords that have become standard in Toshiko criticism, pointing out her "sensitivity" (*kankaku*) and "artifice" (*gikô*) as the most defining features of her work. The review further projects these characteristics to the figure of Toshiko herself, describing her own life as "artificial" (*gikô-teki*) and "theatrical" (*oshibai-teki*) and dramatizing her innate, decadent nature:

> The reason why her life is artificial, theatrical, and playful is because Ms. Toshiko herself is a person of decadence. This woman writer is a pure child of Edo, and in her body circulates decadent blood, which has been received from her ancestors, inflamed with the blessings of tranquility for three hundred years. Seeing a simple white, she imagines it saturated in color as if sewing a ball with colorful strings, and simply touching it with the thumb, she directly senses the thing as a whole. It is because this woman writer's character is decadent that her senses are so rich and acute, often mixing the senses together. In this way, Ms. Toshiko's art is pure urban art given birth by an urban person.[84]

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[83] Advertisement in *Yomiuri Shimbun* (1913.7.20).「驚く可き巧緻の技を以て飽く迄繊細な感覚と情緒とを美しい綾に織った作者の筆は明らかに天品で ある。青磁の瓶の瓶に薄紅いの夢を溶かしたやうな白銀の線を仄紫の朧ろに鳴らすやうな、華かで且つすッきりした、果敢な気な中にも張りのある其作品を集めた此集は、本邦女流文学の頂点を示すものとして、わが藝術界の一異彩であらう。製本？最も高雅だ。」

[84] Rokuhakusei, "Toshiko joshi no kinsakushû *Seigon*," *Yomiuri Shimbun* (1913.7.20).「欺う言う風に実生活其の物が技巧的、お芝居的、遊戯的であると云ふのは、俊子女史其の人がデカダンであるからだ。此の女流作者は純粋の江戸ッ子である。長い三百年の太平の余沢に爛れた祖先の血を享け継いだ其の身体の中には、こんなデカダンな血が環って居るのだ。只の白い単色にも、五色の糸で毬をかがるやうな彩をかけ

Toshiko is described as a child of the imagined decadent city of Edo, where "decadent blood" has been cultivated and handed down through generations. Having inherited this "decadent blood," she cannot help but produce works that are artificial and theatrical. In a strange twist of logic similar to Tamura Shôgyo's essay, Rokuhakusei claims that her works are in fact "necessary" (*hitsuzen*) and "natural" (*shizen*) in relation to her decadent life.

In another review that appeared in *Shinchô* the same month by their regular critic by the pseudonym Aozukin, the rhetoric of decadence takes on a gendered significance. Giving a close reading of her works, Aozukin argues that Toshiko is a master of the "art of the senses" (*kankaku geijutsu*), which is gendered feminine as opposed to masculine "thought" (*shisô*). Aozukin further characterizes modern art in general as feminine, calling the modern era a golden age of women writers (*josei sakusha*). This view of the feminization of art reflects modern critic Rita Felski's study of fin-de-siècle European writers, whose "decadent aesthetic of surface, style, and parody… was explicitly coded as both 'feminine' and 'modern'."[85] However, while this artificial femininity is considered an ironic performance for male writers, the female writer Toshiko becomes positioned as the embodiment of decadence herself. Echoing the oxymoronic rhetoric of Rokuhakusei, Aozukin further clarifies that Toshiko's "artifice" (*gikô*) is "natural" (*shizen*):

> Toshiko's artifice is Toshiko's natural state of being. It is not artifice for artifice's sake, but a sincere artifice that is rooted in the desire for life. To put it another way, it is a lie that arises

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て見たり、親指の腹で触っただけでも、直に其の物の全体 や実質を感じて了ふやうな、感覚が豊富で鋭敏であるのも、又、能く感覚の互用をしたりするのも、其の根源は此の女流作者の素質がデカダンであるところに原因する。此の意味から云って、俊子女史の芸術は、都会人の 生んだ純粋の都会藝術である。」

[85] Rita Felski's *The Gender of Modernity* (2005), as quoted in Tomi Suzuki's "*The Tale of Genji*, National Literature, Language, and Modernism," p.274. Suzuki argues that Tanizaki Jun'ichirô self-consciously identified with the artificial femininity of the fin-de-siècle modernist writers of the decadent and aesthetic movements.

> from truth. It is a truthful lie – a lie of truth. There is no distinction in her life between truth and lies, and between artifice and sincerity.[86]

Rather than seeing the works as an ironic, detached performance, Aozukin analyzes Toshiko's "artifice" as rooted in her innate femininity and thus a natural manifestation. It is through this twist of logic that Toshiko is celebrated within the rhetoric of Naturalism, in which one is judged by the sincerity of the works and the seriousness of the author's attitude towards life.

Aozukin further aligns Toshiko with several male writers who are associated with decadence. Quoting a passage of "Onna sakusha" where the protagonist applies face powder on her face with lingering pleasure, Aozukin identifies "face powder" (*oshiroi*) as central to Toshiko's decadent aesthetics, calling her a "womanly and modest hedonist" in line with the hedonism *(kyôraku-shugi*) of Oscar Wilde.[87] With this connection to Wilde, Aozukin then proceeds to link Toshiko with Tanizaki Jun'ichirô, whose early works such as "Shisei" (The Tattoo, 1910.11, *Shinshichô*) are precisely set in the imagined decadent city of Edo. Wilde had in fact served as a source of inspiration for the young Tanizaki, who began appearing in *Chûôkôron* around the same time as Toshiko and often appeared in the same issues. In fact, Tanizaki first came to be known in the literary world (in the same year as Toshiko's *Akirame*) through Nagai Kafû (1879-1959), a writer who had introduced Baudelaire and Zola to Japan and who was himself placed in the rhetoric of decadence. Aligning Tanizaki with Baudelaire and Edgar Allan Poe, Kafû introduced his works as a "fine example of decadent art" that depicted the "abnormal state of mind" (*byôteki no shinri jôtai*).[88] Kafû further characterizes Tanizaki as "metropolitan" (*tokaiteki*), noting his rootedness in the city and ability to harmonize "individual

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[86] Aozukin, "Toshiko no *Seigon* (Review)," *Shinchô* (1913.7).「俊子の技巧は、俊子の自 然である。技巧の為の技巧ではなく、生の要求に根ざした真剣の技巧である。砕いて云へば、まことから出た嘘である。寧ろまことの嘘、嘘のまことである。彼女の生活にはまことと嘘、即ち技巧と真剣とのけじめが無い。」

[87] 「女らしい、つつましやかな享楽主義者」

[88] Nagai Kafû, "Tanizaki Jun'ichirô-shi no sakuhin" (Tanizaki Jun'ichirô's Works, 1911.11, *Mita bungaku*).

impressions" (*koseiteki kangeki*) and the "heredity of past civilizations" (*kako no bunmeiteki iden*). In contrast to another writer Izumi Kyôka (1873-1939), who gives a "romantic" depiction of an Edo-esque world, Kafû claims that Tanizaki's urbanity is a "reality" (*genjitsu*) based on lived experience.

While Tanizaki's metropolitan origin allows him to create a separate world of decadence in his fiction, Toshiko's imagined origin is translated directly to her "decadent blood," collapsing the distance between her body and her work. Aozukin continues Rohakusei's fantasy: "Born in an old metropolis and inheriting old morality in her blood, she is an imprisoned woman."[89] Because Toshiko is inherently decadent, Aozukin claims, she can never attain freedom and become a New Woman. This rhetoric of collapsing the female body and work becomes the standard rhetoric in Toshiko criticism. Another review of Toshiko's work in the same issue states: "the author's sensitivity in real life has been directly woven into sentences, so there is a necessary and organic relationship that is undetachable from the author's corporeal body."[90] While Toshiko's "Onna Sakusha" (1913.1) and Tanizaki's "Himitsu" (1911.1) both explore the idea of gender performance, focusing on the materiality of the notion of femininity such as face powder and kimono, the gender performance becomes negated in the case of the woman writer by an imagined natural femininity of the author's body.[91]

Ironically, while the rhetoric of decadence places Toshiko in line with male writers such as Wilde and Tanizaki, it simultaneously distances her from the contemporary women of *Seitô*. Aozukin clearly disassociates Toshiko from the *Seitô* women, whom he criticizes as attempting to venture into the masculine realm of "thought" (*shisô*). Their works are therefore deprived of

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[89] 「彼女は、古い都会に生れ、古い道徳を血に享けて、囚はれている女だ。」
[90] *Shinchô* (1913.7). 「作者の感覚生活が其の儘文章となって織り出されたもので、作者其の人の肉体と切り離すことの出来ない、有機的に必然な関係を持って居る」
[91] Tomi Suzuki, "Jendaa ekkyô no miwaku to mazohizumu bigaku: Tanizaki shoki sakuhin ni okeru engekiteki/ eigateki kairaku," in *Tanizaki Jun'ichirô: Kyôkai o koete* (2009), pp.26-54.

the feminine advantage of "sensitivity" (*kankaku*) that Toshiko's fiction has in abundance. It is precisely because of her abundant display of (irrational) feminine sensitivity as an artist that Toshiko is disqualified as an enlightened New Woman, but is celebrated as a writer. Toshiko's inner femininity and decadent blood are imagined as coexisting inside the author, both tied to her female and metropolitan body.

Thus, while Toshiko gained visibility in the media through the New Woman discourse, the discourse of decadence now disqualifies her as a New Woman and disassociates her from the other women writers of her day, increasingly distinguishing her as the *only* significant woman writer. Toshiko's singular status can be witnessed in Yamada Binrô's essay written the following year, "Taishô ninen bundan no kioku" (Remembering 1913 Literary World, 1914.1, *Teikoku bungaku*). Looking back on the previous year, Tamura Toshiko is recognized as a leading woman writer, clearly portrayed as a decadent figure rather than as a New Woman.

> As we can see in "Yûjo" and "Miira no kuchibeni," this woman writer creates her bold, licentious, intense, and vivid art with her attractive and lustrous brush, expressing the individuality and originality of the abnormal degenerate woman herself.[92]

The words "individuality" and "originality" written in *katakana* both point to Toshiko's uniqueness among the women writers, while the term "abnormal" (*abunorumaru*) connects her to the leading male decadent writer Tanizaki. Referring to her as a "woman writer" (*onna sakka*), Binrô further claims that Toshiko dominates the literary world with her "acute sensual description" (*eiri na kan'nô byôsha*), "rich tender sentiments" (*nômitsu na jôcho no tenmen*), "voluptuous brush" (*hôrei na hitsusai*), along with her vigorous attitude towards an "intense and

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[92] Yamada Binrô, "Taishô ninen bundan no kioku," *Teikoku bungaku* (1914.1).「「遊女」「木乃伊の口紅 」に於ても窺はれるやうに此女作家は頗る大胆にみだらな濃厚な強烈な官能の藝術を、そのアブノルマルな変性的女性自身のインディビドゥアリティとオリディナリティとを通じて魅力的な艶筆によって表現して居る」

licentious sexual desire" (*môretsu na hôshi na seiyoku*).[93] While many women writers are often recognized only because of their sex, Binrô claims, Toshiko can directly compete with the leading male writers such as Tanizaki. Binrô laments that other female writers such as Yosano Akiko, Ojima Kikuko, and Mizuno Senko are unable to express the characteristics unique to women as Toshiko can.

As I have examined in this chapter, Tamura Toshiko gained the position of being the leading woman writer in the literary world through the interrelated discourses of Naturalism, New Woman, and decadence, and played a major part in the formation of the category of the "woman writer" (*joryû sakka*) in the expanding media and the publishing industry. While Toshiko was one of the founding members of the feminist literary journal *Seitô*, her increasing association with decadence and her unique status among the other women writers led to the rejection of Toshiko by the women of *Seitô* in the following years. In the following chapter, I will examine how the women of *Seitô* strove to reclaim their identity as New Women through their rejection of the various media images and discourses surrounding the woman writer, as Higuchi Ichiyô and Tamura Toshiko came to be canonized as representative women writers of the Meiji and Taisho periods.

[93] Ibid.「其の鋭利な官能描写、濃密な情緒の纏 綿、豊麗な筆彩は、其の猛烈な放肆な性欲の積極的態度と共に、確かに現時の我文壇を圧して居る」

Chapter Two

Canonization and the Anxiety of Influence: Higuchi Ichiyô, Tamura Toshiko, and the Women of *Seitô*

As Japan entered a new decade at the turn of the 20th century, a generation of younger writers began to cast a gaze back at the previous century with an awareness of the Meiji period coming to a close. This was an attempt to mark themselves apart from past legacies and enter into a new cosmopolitan view of literature in active dialogue with world literature, in which the writers newly positioned themselves. In the context of this backward glance and urge for self-definition by those writing in the increasingly dominant literary mode of Naturalism, the female writer Higuchi Ichiyô (1872-96) came to be canonized as one of the representative writers of the Meiji period. While the initial critical response during her lifetime and immediately after her death did not focus on her gender as a woman, this aspect became central to the shaping of her posthumous literary persona through Sôma Gyofû's influential 1910 essay, which shifted the focus from her fictional works to her personal life as a woman writer in the context of the New Woman. By tracing the canonization of Ichiyô in relation to the New Woman discourse and the modern invention of what came to be considered Japanese classics, I explore how Ichiyô came to occupy the threshold of what was imagined as old and new Japan, both as an embodiment of Japan's past and as a proto-feminist figure. I illuminate the growing tension between progressive male intellectuals in support of women's issues who posited Ichiyô as the ideal woman writer of the past, and the women of *Seitô* who tried to take ownership over the discourse surrounding modern women's writing. *Seitô* women's rejection of Ichiyô, as well as the increasingly looming

figure of Tamura Toshiko, was thus a necessary act in self-proclaiming the birth of New Women in the changing modern society, and that which paved the way for the emergence of a community of a new generation of women writers in the late 1910s.

1. Canonization of Ichiyô Within the Naturalist Discourse

Hakubunkan and *Ichiyô zenshû* (1897.1)

While the publishing house Hakubunkan initially made its name by founding and circulating a variety of magazine in the late 1880s, it was their venture to put out a series of multi-volume literary anthologies (*zensho*) in the 1890s that expanded their readership and paved the way to establishing themselves as a major reputable institution. Hakubunkan's literary anthologies played a central role in the establishment of national literature through the reprinting and annotating of classical works, such as *Nihon bungaku zensho* (Anthology of Japanese Literature, 1890) and *Nihon kagaku zensho* (Anthology of Japanese Poetics, 1890), both consisting of twenty-four volumes. The most popular anthology was the bi-monthly *Teikoku bunko* (Imperial Archives, 1893-97), a collection that included medieval military tales (*Genpei seisuiki*, *Heike monogatari*, *Taiheiki*, etc) and various popular Tokugawa-period fictions (works by Saikaku, Chikamatsu, Bakin, etc). The first fifty-volumes of this series proved to be so successful that Hakubunkan continued to publish fifty more books, resulting in a total of one hundred volumes under the name of *Teikoku bunko*. These serialized anthologies came to characterize Hakubunkan's style of book publishing, far exceeding single-volume books.[1]

Hakubunkan played a key role in establishing Ichiyô's position within the literary world before and after her death. Following Ichiyô's death in 1896, Ohashi Otowa (1869-1901), who

[1] See Tamura Tetsuzô, *Kindai shuppan bunka wo kirihiraita shuppan ôkoku no hikari to kage: Hakubunkan kôbô rokujû-nen* (2007) and Tsuchiya Reiko (ed), *Kindai Nihon media jinbutsu-shi: Sôshisha, keieisha hen* (2009).

married into the family of Hakubunkan and who was an avid supporter of Ichiyô during her lifetime, edited and published the first anthology of her works in the one-volume *Ichiyô zenshû* (Collected Works of Ichiyô, 1897.1, Hakubunkan) only two months after her death. The single volume *Ichiyô zenshû* (1897.1) played a key role in firmly rooting Ichiyô in the literary world, and would become the main source of reference by writers and critics in the following years. When *Chûôkôron* conducted a special feature on "Ms. Ichiyô" (Ichiyô *joshi*) as part of their new monthly series *Meiji kojin hyôron* (Literary Criticism on Deceased Meiji Writers, 1907.5-12),[2] many of the contributors, particularly those of the younger generation, recollect their experience of reading Ichiyô by referencing this anthology. While most had encountered Ichiyô's works contemporaneously during her lifetime in literary journals, they recount the process of re-reading them through Hakubunkan's *Ichiyô zenshû*, which gathered her works in an easily accessible form as a completed oeuvre. Following Takayama Chogyû, who had been a major literary critic and the editor of influential journals *Teikoku bungaku* and *Taiyô*, Ichiyô was the second writer to be featured in the *Meiji kojin hyôron* series, whose series title suggests an awareness of an era coming to a close in this first decade of the 20th century. With her timely death, as it were, Ichiyô is thus remembered and crystallized as part of the great legacy of the Meiji past.

Through this special feature on Ichiyô by major literary figures of the present, all of whom were male, we can already witness the process of Ichiyô's canonization at the turn of the century. The contributing writers were, in order, Nakarai Tôsui (1860-1926), Satô Kôroku (1874-1949), Shimazaki Tôson (1872-1943), Kôda Rohan (1867-1947), Ueda Bin (1874-1916), Shimamura Hôgetsu (1871-1918), Iwaya Sazanami (1870-1933), Tokuda Shûsei (1871-1943), and Gotô Chûgai (1867-1938). While this list shows a range of generations and literary schools,

[2] The *Meiji kojin hyôron* series in *Chûôkôron* ran in the following order: Takayama Chôgyû (1907.5), Higuchi Ichiyô (1907.6), Fukuzawa Yukichi (1907.7), Ozaki Kôyô (1907.8), Masaoka Shiki (1907.9), Saitô Ryokuu (1907.10), Niijima Jô (1907.11), and Ônishi Hajime (1907.12).

their essays are by and large marked by a strong awareness of Naturalism as the prevailing literary mode. Whether an advocate or opponent, these writers see the movement as a dominant presence in Japan's literary world, one that marks a clear break between what is past, and what is new and modern. Within this literary historical narrative that was coming into formation, Ichiyô's works are celebrated as masterpieces shining in the past, exerting influence into the present but shielded safely behind, as it were, a glass box in the shape of a one-volume anthology.

Kôda Rohan's essay on Ichiyô's short story "Takekurabe," reprinted from his book of essays *Shio machi kusa* (Grass Waiting for the Tide, 1906.3, Tôadô), is a critique of the contemporary trend of Naturalism through his praise of the deceased writer. Applauding Ichiyô for having developed her own style without succumbing to what he sees as the frivolous trends of the times, Rohan criticizes Naturalist writers and critics who value the revelation of personal life in an exaggerated manner, while praising Ichiyô for concisely achieving "subtle and profound feeling" (*yûgen naru kanjô*) almost without conscious effort. Interestingly, in critiquing the Naturalist mode, Rohan reappropriates their key term by claiming that Ichiyô's realistic portraits of character are closer to "nature" (*shizen*) than theirs. Rohan further goes on to emphasize their difference by using the metaphor of the body; while Naturalist writers cut open the human flesh to extract the heart, Ichiyô is able to reveal the inner depths of the human heart in a live body without having to kill it.[3] The allusion to surgical dissection clearly echoes the Naturalist's stance to observe life scientifically through the detached and analytical lens of a doctor or surgeon. In attempting to separate Ichiyô from Naturalism, Rohan nonetheless places

[3] Kôda Rohan, "Takekurabe," *Chûôkôron* (1907.6).「人の身に刃を加へて皮膚を剥ぎ心肝を抉剔し出して他に示すやうなることを敢てせば高尚なる小説といふものにあらずとにても思へるらしき多くの批評家多くの小説家に此あたりの文字五六字づつ技倆上達の霊符として呑ませたきものなり。」 「人の肺腑を活けるままに見せたり」

Ichiyô within this same surgical rhetoric (performing, as it were, vivisection rather than an autopsy), showing the inability to escape this dominant mode even while opposing it.

Just as Rohan's praise of Ichiyô was a means to express his critical views on Naturalism, much of the evaluation of Ichiyô in the special feature centers around the Naturalist rhetoric, marking a clear break between Ichiyô's works and the modern literary mode. As the only reprinted essay that was not commissioned specifically for the issue, Rohan's essay functions as a bouncing board against which a younger generation of writers posit their ideas on Naturalism.

Satô Kôroku, a writer and translator of Alexandre Dumas and Victor Hugo, argues that while Ichiyô should be celebrated for her skillful "writing" (*bunshô*), the old-fashioned content of her works makes them inferior as "novels" (*shôsetsu*) to works by great Naturalist writers such as Maupassant and D'Annunzio. Although Ichiyô does not equal the modern European novelists in Kôroku's view, the perspective of world literature in turn creates a renewed sense of national literature in which Ichiyô plays an important part. Noting that the times have changed drastically since the introduction of European Naturalism, Kôroku celebrates *Ichiyô zenshû* as the "last flower of the Japanese-style novels" (*Nihon-shiki shôsetsu no saigo no hana*), marking the end point of a certain style of national literature before entering into the cosmopolitan sphere of world literature. He celebrates her skilled literary style as superior to that of Rohan and Kôyô, connecting her back to the great Edo-period predecessors Chikamatsu and Saikaku. While his vision of "Japanese-style novels" untainted by any foreign or modern influence is undoubtedly simplistic, Kôroku nonetheless places *Ichiyô zenshû* in the realm of the great works of Japanese literature of the past, marking Hakubunkan's publication of the anthology as a turning point for a new type of thought and literature in Japan.[4]

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[4] Satô Kôroku, "Ichiyô joshi no sakuhin," *Chûôkôron* (1907.6).「一葉全集は日本式小説の最後の花であると信じます、一葉全集後はがらりと思想も書き振も変って参りました」

Firmly placed in the realm of the national past as opposed to the cosmopolitan present, Ichiyô's works are further imagined as already in the process of aging or maturing. Shimamura Hôgetsu, a leading advocate of Naturalist criticism, argues for the inevitable process of the aging of a literary work, claiming that this "oxidation" (*sanka*) process has become accelerated with the advent of Naturalism in the fast changing Meiji era. One of the effects of this "oxidation," Hôgetsu explains, is in the writer's "attitude" (*taido*), the newly important Naturalist criteria under which Ichiyô's works begins to appear "theatrical" (*shiatorikaru*).[5] While he appreciated Ichiyô's works in the time of their publication, he now sees them as inevitably marked by their time. While Hôgetsu's depiction of aging seems negative in this context, Gotô Chûgai, an older critic of Rohan's generation, describes this as a positive maturing process by making comparison to the changing genres of art. While agreeing that today's critics who privilege the depiction of "life" (*jinsei*) might not have much to appreciate, Chûgai finds Ichiyô's works to be like a beautiful "woodblock color print" (*nishiki-e*) that continues to charm the viewer despite being a relic of the past. Chûgai also recognizes some elements of modernity in her works that can be admired in the present. While she did not aim for any large-scale Western oil painting, he claims that there are a few modern watercolor sketches (*suisai-ga*) alongside the Edo-style *ukiyo-e* prints, placing her on the threshold of the changing times and artistic genres.[6]

While Kôroku, Hôgetsu and Chûgai situate Ichiyô as fundamentally removed from the Naturalist mode of writing, other writers find praise for Ichiyô within the Naturalist rhetoric. Shimazaki Tôson sees a development in Ichiyô's works so that her later works achieve a closer correlation between work and life, which is the Naturalist standard by which a literary work is

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[5] Shimamura Hôgetsu, "Ichiyô joshi no sakubutsu," *Chûôkôron* (1907.6).「筋ではない、むしろ作者の叙述の態度に今昔の差でシアトリカルな所が出て来たのです」

[6] Gotô Chûgai, "Ko Ichiyô joshi," *Chûôkôron* (1907.6).「古び方も可厭でない、筆の利いた、調子のよい美しい錦絵を見るやうな心地がした」「油絵の大作に比するべきものは無いが気の利いた趣の深い水彩画のスケッチ又は或種の浮世絵の出来の好い程度のものには富んでいると云って可からう」

evaluated.[7] Furthermore, while Tokuda Shûsei claims that one cannot expect to see in Ichiyô's writing a profound contact with "life" (*jinsei*) or a glimpse into "nature" (*shizen*) considering the literary environment in which she wrote, he nonetheless praises Ichiyô's "feminine observation" (*josei-teki no kansatsu*) that he claims can only be achieved by a woman.[8] He calls her Chikamatsu's "daughter" (*doutâ*), placing her in the lineage of Edo period literature, but also emphasizing her gender and bringing her into the present by putting the English loan word in *katakana* next to the Chinese character. Shûsei's characterization of Ichiyô's "feminine observation" as being an inherent characteristic of women writers is to become the basis for evaluating works by women writers in the following years.

This conflation of femininity and women's writing is implicitly put into question by Nakarai Tôsui's essay, which is a personal memoir by one who knew Ichiyô intimately during her lifetime.[9] Recounting the early days of Ichiyô's writing career, and her determination to provide for her family by writing in a male dominated literary world, Tôsui recalls advising Ichiyô to heighten the femininity of women's speech in one of her early short stories. While Tôsui makes no mention of the new movement of Naturalism, he brings up the important theme of the performativity of gendered speech, revealing that *l'écriture féminine* is not something inherent to women but something to be learned and achieved. Just as feminine speech is best rendered by male actors impersonating the female part, Tôsui points out, a woman writer (*joryû sakka*) tends to use speech modeling too much on real life, thus lacking the softness of an ideal feminine language. Tôsui's memoir thus implicitly illuminates the element of performativity in gendered speech that becomes erased in the discussion of women writers within the discourse of Naturalism.

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[7] Shimazaki Tôson, "Ichiyô joshi ni tsuite," *Chûôkôron* (1907.6).
[8] Tokuda Shûsei, "Ichiyô joshi no sakubutsu," *Chûôkôron* (1907.6).
[9] Nakarai Tôsui, "Ichiyô joshi," *Chûôkôron* (1907.6).

Ichiyô and the New Woman

As the special feature by *Chûôkôron* shows, Ichiyô became canonized as a great literary legacy of the Meiji period and a key figure in Japanese literature after the end of the Russo-Japanese War. In a series of essays on major literary and artistic figures in the January 1910 issue of *Waseda Bungaku*, Ichiyô stands unique as the only woman featured. This is also emphasized visually with her photograph, which appears alongside nine other illustrious men featured in this issue: Kunikida Doppo (1871-1908), Tsunashima Ryôsen (1873-1907), Masaoka Shiki (1867-1902), Takayama Chogyû (1871-1902), Ichikawa Danjûrô (1838-1903), Hashimoto Gahô (1835-1908), Ozaki Kôyô (1867-1903), Onishi Sôzan (1864-1900), and Futabatei Shimei (1804-1909). While Ichiyô's gender was not the determining factor in her initial assessment despite her own ambivalence at being a woman in a dominantly male environment, this issue points to how gender becomes central in her assessment as she became increasingly singled out among other women writers through her canonization.

This focus on Ichiyô's gender is particularly shaped by the literary critic Sôma Gyofû's definitive essay "Higuchi Ichiyô ron" (Essay on Higuchi Ichiyô, 1910.1, *Waseda bungaku*), included in this issue. As many modern critics have noted, Gyofû goes to great length to characterize Ichiyô as "old" (*furui*), and the essay was to leave a lasting image of the writer as an exceptional, yet an old-fashioned writer belonging to the past.[10] Yet, while the essay undeniably played a crucial role in determining Ichiyô's image, a thorough reading shows that Gyofû in fact characterizes Ichiyô as a pioneering woman struggling to break free from the old, paving the way for the emergence of the New Woman, which was to become an important phenomenon in the following years. It is quite emblematic, coincidentally, that this essay appears in the same issue

[10] Tomi Suzuki argues that Ichiyô was transfigured into an embodiment of an "old" (*furui*) Japanese women's literary tradition by Naturalist writers and critics creating literary history in late 1900s. See Tomi Suzuki, "The Tale of Genji, National Literature, Language, and Modernism" in *Envisioning the Tale of Genji* (2008).

as Shimamura Hôgetsu's full translation of Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, a definitive work that shaped the New Woman discourse and Japanese feminism.

Gyofû's essay begins by underscoring Ichiyô's gender, painting a portrait of a tragic heroine fighting against her fate and the times. The word "woman" (*onna*) appears again and again throughout the essay, with various adjectives attached: "ordinary woman" (*zokujin no onna*), "wretched woman" (*mijime na onna*), "young woman" (*wakai onna*), "unfortunate woman" (*fugû hakuun naru onna*), "unhappy woman" (*fukônaru onna*), "weak woman" (*yowaki onna*), and so on. While Gyofû characterizes Ichiyô as a "genius" (*tensai*) who lived and died ahead of her time, he nonetheless transposes the Confucian spirit of the feudal times onto her character, depicting her as an embodiment of the old. Gyofû characterizes her as "a woman of old Japan" (*kyû* or *furuki Nihon no onna*), a key phrase that becomes repeated throughout the text. In dramatizing the tension between her old-fashioned Confucian upbringing and a faint glimpse of modern individuality lurking behind, Gyofû builds up the narrative to a chant-like paragraph:

> Ichiyô was a *woman of old Japan*. As a *woman of old Japan*, she struggled to express, as much as she was able, the feelings and thoughts of the *women of old Japan* – the complications of human feeling, the contradictions of morals, the relationships between the self and others – as they come into contact with reality and see their lives unfold before them. With a heart strained by painful worldly battles, Ichiyô tried to illuminate the sorrows of the *women of old Japan* as much as she could. Through the genius of Ichiyô, the hearts of the *women of old Japan*, oppressed for hundreds of years, were able to release their cries of sorrow and pain for the first time in the Meiji period. Although the moment may have come too soon, Ichiyô was nonetheless the *last woman of old Japan*. She is indeed *The Last Woman of Old Japan*.[11]

[11] Sôma Gyofû, "Higuchi Ichiyô ron," *Waseda bungaku* (1910.1), p.26. Emphasis mine.「一葉は旧い日本の女であった。その旧い日本の女が、長ずるに随てさまざまな形で現実と触れて来る、そしてさまざま な形で生活を開展して来るーそこに生ずる人情の齟齬、道徳の矛盾、我と他との関係、つまりそれ等に対する旧い日本の女の情思を、力の限り訴へやうとしたのが一葉である。浮世の苦しい戦に張り詰めた心を以て、一葉は旧き日本の女の悲哀を、心ゆく限り訴へやうとした。幾百年となく虐げられて来た旧き日本の女の心は、明治に至って一葉と云ふ一個の天才を得て、ここに初めてその悲哀、その苦痛の声をあげ得たのだと云ってもよい。その来る事のやや早きに過ぎた憾はあるが、兎に角一葉は最後の旧き日本の女であった。The Last Women of Old Japan であった。」

In this chant-like paragraph that takes on a fetishistic quality, culminating in the phrase written out in English "The Last Woman of Old Japan," Ichiyô becomes a superhuman medium through which the sufferings of oppressed women in the history of Japan are articulated, her influence extending over hundreds of years. This trans-historical move shows that the essay is not so much concerned with Ichiyô as an individual, as with the plight of Japanese women in the changing modern times for which Ichiyô becomes the mouthpiece.

While the repetition of the phrase "woman of old Japan" seems to solidify Ichiyô's literary persona as the embodiment of old values, Gyofû proceeds to portray her development as a writer as deeply implicated in the rise of Naturalism at the end of the Meiji period. Gyofû describes the arrival of Naturalism as a momentous shift from falseness to authenticity, as the writers of the younger generation with "truthful hearts" (*shinjitsu naru kokoro*) overturned the "flippant literature" (*yûgi bungei*) of the "false era" (*kyogi no jidai*), as represented by Kôyô and Rohan. Similarly, Gyofû describes, Ichiyô's "true feelings" (*shinjô*) were suppressed in her early years by the demands of older literary practices rooted in conventional morality, and her stories were merely modeled after Chikamatsu's prototypical tragedies depicting the conflict between duty (*giri*) and human feeling (*ninjô*). With the arrival of the Romantic movement (a prelude to Naturalism) led by the men of the *Bungakukai* group, which burst through the "literature of superficial realism" (*hisô-teki shajitsu no bungei*), Ichiyô finally finds a way to assert her own voice. Evoking Nakarai Tôsui's description of Ichiyô as "forcing a smile on her pallid face" from his essay in *Chûôkôron* (1907.6),[12] Gyofû refashions this image to fit his own narrative of the advent of Naturalism – as a shedding of falseness to reveal her "true-self" (*jiko no shinsei*). What allowed Ichiyô to develop into an exceptional writer was, Gyofû argues, the spirit of the age which urged her to have a "sincere" (*shinsotsu*) attitude towards her own life.

[12] Ibid, p.21.「色艶の好くない顔に出来るだけ愛嬌を作って」

The second half of the essay reveals Gyofû's view of Ichiyô as a precursor to the New Woman – a young woman who is struggling to be liberated from "old Japan" and to achieve independence in modern society. As Ichiyô entered the world of professional writing, Gyofû narrates, her illusions were soon shattered by the weight of old habits and morality, and her naïve, idealistic vision of life soon developed into a "serious, acute and intense view of life build upon reality."[13] Having gained this awareness, her works written in 1895 are thus "original" (*dokusô-teki*) and "rebellious" (*hankô-teki*), liberated from the old formalities that had constrained her earlier works. Instead of wallowing in her "imagination" (*kûsô*), she faces "reality" (*genjitsu*) and shows deep sympathy towards "those who rebel against the fate of women."[14] Quoting the heroine's long monologue from "Nigorie," Gyofû asks, "Had there ever been a woman in Japan who gave out such desperate cries of despair and rebellion?"[15] Having been awakened to the hardships of women's lives, Ichiyô takes on the role of a feminist writer who gives voice to women's suffering, portraying the complexity of their inner lives through her characters. In the last year of her life, moreover, Gyofû states that Ichiyô was beginning to attain an "objectivity" (*kyakkan*) to observe and critique life, which is the precondition of a Naturalist writer. In her mature works, therefore, Ichiyô's "sympathy" (*jô*) is no longer based on naïve sentimentality, but shows the rationality of a writer who has experienced life's hardships, one that has power to profoundly move the reader.

While many of the critics in the *Chûôkôron* special feature saw a break between Ichiyô and Naturalist writers who seriously grappled with life, Gyofû locates Ichiyô as firmly rooted in this contemporary literary trend, calling her a unique "genius" (*tensai*) in Meiji literary history that shows an intimate connection between "work" (*sakuhin*) and "life" (*shougai*). While Gyofû

[13] Ibid, p.27.「現実の上に築かれた深刻痛切な、凄味のある人生観」
[14] Ibid, p.28.「女そのものの運命に反抗する者にも深刻な同情を以て対するやうになって来た」
[15] Ibid, p.29.「斯の如く痛切な絶望の声、反抗の声を揚げた女は、それまでの日本にあったらうか」

ultimately does not portray Ichiyô as fully self-aware or liberated, this is seen as dependent on historical context rather than inner necessity. Gyofû locates the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) as the great turning point for Japan, pushing forward a "New Japan" that is newly situated within the global sphere. It is this new global awareness of Japan's position in the international world that leads Gofû to exclaim "The Last Woman of Old Japan" in English in the previously quoted passage. It is important to understand that Gyofû portrays Ichiyô not as an old type of woman, but as a woman struggling to break free from "Old Japan" with burgeoning self-awareness. It is through Ichiyô's desperate cries that women of New Japan, as it were, can attain self-awareness (*jikaku*) that is the prerequisite of the New Woman.

Writing at a time when the New Woman discourse was entering into Japanese journalism, Gyofû posits Ichiyô as a proto-feminist figure, marking the threshold between old and new Japan and playing a crucial part in the birth of the New Women. Gyofû was to take a leading role in the discourse of the New Woman in the following years, and this early essay foreshadows how this discourse first occurred on the literary, textual level, as evidenced by Shôyô and Gyofû's book *Iwayuru Atarashii Onna* (1912.4) discussed in Chapter One. Gyofû indeed treats Ichiyô as if she were a fictional character of a modern play, referring to her at one point in the essay as "our great heroine" (*waga idai-naru onna shujinkô*). Quoting various essays on Ichiyô in *Chûôkôron*'s special feature and other journals as authoritative texts, Gyofû gives a reading of the author as if she were a fixed text to be interpreted. He also gives a close analysis of her photograph: "Her wide forehead, her firm, dignified face though not overflowing with charm – this alone suggests a sensible, clever, willful woman."[16] Gyofû's reading of Ichiyô as a fictional heroine through text and visual image gives a glimpse into the conflation of the female author

[16] Ibid, p.33.「額の広い、愛嬌は少ないが凛とした締った顔、それだけを見ても、常識の発達した、如才はないが意地の強い人と云ふ事がほぼ窺はれる」

with her work as we saw in the case of Tamura Toshiko in Chapter One, as well as the various heroine figures that will become the focus of critique in the New Woman discourse.

Fascination with Heroines

The fascination with literary heroines can be witnessed in the July 1911 issue of *Shinchô*, which has a special feature on famous female literary figures, as well as three separate extended essays on the same topic. Titled "Shôsetsu no onna" (Women in Novels), the journal features the following works and authors, in order: *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji, 11th c), Shimazaki Tôson, Ihara Saikaku, Chikamatsu Monzaemon, Higuchi Ichiyô, *Shunshoku umegoyomi* (Spring Colors: The Plum Calendar, 1832-33), Futabatei Shimei, Izumi Kyôka, *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters, 712), Ozaki Kôyô and Kyokutei Bakin. Some of the essays are accompanied with rough sketches of what the heroines are imagined to look like. As the authorship of *Genji* is not made an issue, Ichiyô is the only woman writer to be named, and her gender is not the focal point of the essay. This shows that the interest in the author's gender is secondary to the various heroines depicted. Rather than taking a critical approach, the essays show a creative retelling of the heroines' lives, whether in poetic prose (*Genji*'s Yûgao), epistolary form (Saikaku's various women), dramatic retelling of story and dialogue (Chikamatsu's Koharu and Osan, Bakin's Hamaji), or various essay forms.

Sôma Gyofû's sympathy for the feminist cause can once again be witnessed in his essay on women depicted in *Kojiki*, Japan's oldest extant record of official history dating from the early 8th century. Arguing that the gendered images of masculine assertiveness and feminine submission were already inscribed in the ancient creation myth of Japan, Gyofû directs our attention to the "sorrows of the gentle, modest women" faintly lurking behind the powerful,

vivacious men in *Kojiki*.[17] Referring to Suseri-hime's poem to her husband who is about to leave her for another woman, Gyofû connects the expression of her sorrow and vulnerability to the conditions of contemporary women:

> How incredible it is that the *Kojiki*, praised for being a symbol for the intense desire for life of the Japanese race, already conveys the sorrows of this woman. Ah, women, you weak women, your freedom had already been lost, even from the ancient age of the gods.[18]

As this passage shows, Gyofû reinterprets *Kojiki* as a proto-feminist text that expresses the sufferings of oppressed women, similar to what he found in Ichiyô's text. Just as he had dramatized Ichiyô's weakness in his definitive essay, he once again adopts the tone of a dramatic monologue, "Ah, women, you weak women" (*onna yo, kayowaki onna yo*).

While much of Gyofû's writing shows his active concern for women's position in society, his ambiguous stance for the feminist cause is revealed in another essay in the same *Shinchô* issue. In "Shôsetsu ni egakareta onna no inshô" (Impressions of Women Depicted in Novels), Gyofû criticizes women depicted in Russian novels as being too "intellectual" (*chishikiteki*) and "critical" (*hihanteki*), while giving preference to women depicted in French novels for being more womanly. This preference shows that it may be precisely women's inability to escape her socially inscribed gender roles that fascinates Gyofû, rather than depictions of or the existence of actual enlightened women. These two essays in the same *Shinchô* issue shed light on Gyofû's ambivalent position toward New Women – sympathetic to the oppression of women within patriarchal society, but not fully accepting women to break out of the mould.

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[17] Sôma Gyofû, "Kojiki no onna," *Shinchô* (1911.7), p.21.「古事記を読んで私達の祖先の男性が驚くべく強烈なる生活発展の力に充ちて居るのに対して、常に、一種憧憬の念の湧くを覚えると同時にその裏に細く微かに音を立てて居る優しくつつましい女の悲しみに声を傾けぬ訳には行かぬのである」

[18] Ibid, p.23.「ただこれ大和民族の熱烈なる生活欲の象徴であるとまで賛美されて居る『古事記』が、はやく既に此の女の悲しみを伝へて居るのは、何と云ふ意味深い事実だらう。女よ、か弱き女よ、汝が生活の自由は既に既に神代の昔から失はれて居たのだ」

Alongside Gyofû, playwright Akita Ujaku (1883-1962) writes a critical essay on female characters in Japanese novels from the perspective of world literature. While modern literature today has become so cosmopolitan that it is no longer possible to see clear national differences, Ujaku argues, Russian literature, which developed belatedly to European literature, still retains a sense of locality in its characters, even while embodying the history of European thought in consolidated form. Ujaku finds it to be no surprise, therefore, that European thought infiltrated the Japanese literary world through Russian literature, which stands between the two cultures in the stages of historical development. In fact, Russian literature becomes a universal medium that can speak for both Europe and Japan; the heroines of Tolstoy's and Turgenev's works reveal the nature of European women, just as they illuminate the women of Japan, "a country that recently opened its gates."[19]

Ujaku further comments on the state of women's writing in Japan, praising Ichiyô as the exemplary woman writer that rivals canonical male writers of the past such as Kunikida Doppo. Claiming that Ichiyô's women characters represent the "pathos" (*hiai*) of Japanese women, evoking a feeling of nostalgia of bygone days, Ujaku laments that post-Ichiyô women writers have not succeeded in revealing the state of Japanese women of the present.

> We have not yet encountered works that truly depict the Japanese woman, who is being destroyed and transformed day by day. Women writers [*onna sakka*] such as Koganei Kimiko, Mori Shige, Kunikida Haruko and Yosano Akiko appear to be attempting to depict some aspects of modern women through their works, but their efforts fall short due to their inability to go beyond their own limited experiences. They have not reached the point of being self-critical by objectively observing their thoughts and feelings coolly and relentlessly, as is the general trend of modern literature. Ms. Akiko's poems, however, singularly possess a kind of acute power.[20]

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[19] Akita Ujaku, "Shôsetsu ni arawaretaru josei ni tsuite," *Shinchô* (1911.7), p.52.「日本と云ふ新しく門を開いた国」

[20] Ibid, p.53.「しかし、未だ未だ破壊されて居る日本の女性の姿を、本当に書いて居る作物を、私たちは読んだことがない。小金井きみ子とか、森しげ女とか云ふやうな女作家の作物又は国木田治子とか与謝野晶子とか云ふ人の作物に現はれた女は、稍々近代の女の一面を現はそうとつとめて居るらしいけれども、近代の一体の文学の思潮として、狭い自己の経験以外に筆を染めることもせず、思想感情と云ふや

Here, Ujaku criticizes contemporary women writers as not having achieved the objectivity that is expected in Naturalist writing, while showing the expectation that their works should shed light on modern women's experience. While the assessment here is negative, his concern shows a sense of expectation and hope for women to represent their own voices through literature, as *Seitô* women determined to do. Furthermore, Ujaku interestingly singles out Yosano Akiko, who emerges as an alternative model for feminist writers in place of Ichiyô.

It was only two months later that the first women's literary journal *Seitô* was inaugurated. It is partly in the attempt to take ownership over the various discourses on women – assessment and canonization of women writers, veiled chauvinism in relation to New Women, and female heroines as object of fetishism – that feminist women announced their determination to speak in their own voice. In the literary gossip column of the same issue of *Shinchô*, there is an announcement for the forthcoming publication of *Seitô*. The title of the journal is misquoted as *Seiben*, which translates as "Blue whip," and is accompanied with the commentary, "They will no doubt get a thrill out of giving a thrashing to the derrieres of timid men with their whips. What an extraordinary thing it is."[21] This (mis)report in the major literary journal *Shinchô* shows how the publication of the feminist journal was regarded by male intellectuals with ridicule, as well as with bemused anticipation.

Publication of Ichiyô's Diary

In May and June of 1912, Hakubunkan once again published a collected anthology of Ichiyô's works, this time in a two-volume format edited by Baba Kochô, a writer and critic who

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うなものを、稍客観的な方面に持って行って、冷かに、そして烈しく自己を批判すると云ふところにまで行って居ない為めに、何処となく物足らないやうな気がする。ただ、晶子女史の和歌は、独り鋭い力を持って居るやうに思ふ」

[21] "Bundan fûbun-ki," *Shinchô* (1911.7).「物集一子だの平塚明子だの七八人の女が『青鞭』と云ふ文学雑誌を出す計画が成った。どんな鞭か知らぬが意気地のない男のしりっぺたを叩いて痛快がることだらう。物凄い話だ」

had been part of the *Bungakukai* (Literary World, 1893.1-98.1) coterie and an admirer of Ichiyô during her lifetime. The first volume compiled her diary and letters, and the second volume included her fiction and essays. The inclusion of her diary was the major driving force in the publication of the two-volume series, and played a key role in the gendering of Ichiyô as a woman writer, as well as in establishing an autobiographical mode of reading that conflated the heroine figures with the author herself.[22]

Baba Kochô's essay on Ichiyô's diary in *Waseda bungaku* (1911.12) describes the multi-year controversy surrounding its publication, building hype for the forthcoming publication of the two-volume *Ichiyô zenshû*.[23] As the story goes, soon after Ichiyô's death, Saitô Ryokuu showed the manuscript of the diary to Kôda Rohan, who discouraged its publication as inappropriate so soon after her death. Then around 1903, Ryokuu once again consulted Rohan as well as Ôgai on possibly publishing an abridged version that would edit out any reference to her alleged love affair with novelist Nakarai Tôsui, but the project never came to fruition as Ryokuu passed away before any decision was made. When the talk of publication came up again around 1907, Kochô conferred with Shimazaki Tôson and Togawa Shûkotsu but could not reach an agreement as to whether to publish the diary in abridged or unabridged form. In the end, Kochô, acquiring the approval of Ichiyô's sister Kuniko, decided that it would be published in unabridged form.

Kochô's essay gives testament to how Ichiyô's diary passed through the hands of many influential men in the literary world, before being brought to light, many of whom were associated with *Bungakukai*. As evident in the following passage, moreover, Kochô's assessment

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[22] For the significance of women's diaries as a modern genre, see Tomi Suzuki's "Gender and Genre: Modern Literary Histories and Women's Diary Literature," in Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki (eds), *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature* (2000).

[23] Baba Kochô, "Nikki wo tôshite mitaru Higuchi Ichiyô," *Waseda bungaku* (1911.12).

that this diary's significance lies in the revelation of the woman's perspective on the world shows that the intended readership of the diary was male.

> Ichiyô's diary should be viewed as portraying a woman's true thoughts and experiences. If we are not mistaken in approaching the diary in this way, then we may venture to say that this diary is more valuable than her fictional works. Mr. Sôma once wrote an essay on Ichiyô that claimed, I believe, that she was the last of the previous generation of women. This is clearly evidenced in her diary. Moreover, her truly feminine nature can be seen everywhere.[24]

This passage gives witness to how Sôma Gyofû's essay becomes the reference point for Ichiyô's literary persona for subsequent critics. Despite Gyofû's portrait of Ichiyô as proto-feminist, what gets remembered and re-emphasized is her inexorable tie to the past, the proof of which Kochô now discovers in her diary. Kochô continues to write in a respectful yet condescending tone, taking pleasure in Ichiyô's narrow-mindedness, which is seen as a feminine trait. For male readers, these feminine imperfections and prejudices are precisely what is interesting about the diary, which gains value as an authentic testament to the woman writer's "true thoughts and experiences," exceeding even her fictional works in literary value.

As Baba Kochô's afterward to the second volume of *Ichiyô zenshû* (1912.6) shows, the publication of Ichiyô's diary is presented as a discovery, as it were, of her femininity, as Kochô recounts the belated process of the gendering of Ichiyô as a woman. While her gender was not a significant part of her literary identity during her lifetime, nor in the interaction with other male writers as Kochô remembers it, her diary is imagined to contain a kind of feminine confession that reveals her true nature as a woman that had been "forgotten."[25] In the advertisement for the *Ichiyô zenshû* that appears in the second volume (1912.6), it is apparent that the diary is the

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[24] Ibid, p.3.「一葉の日記はある婦人の偽らざる思想、偽らざる生活を書いたものと見るが至当であって、もし此日記に対するさう云ふ見方が間違って居ないとすれば、日記は一葉の作物よりももっと尊いものだとする事が出来るかも知れ無い。何時であったか、相馬さんが一葉論をなされて、一葉は前代の女の最後の女であったと云ふ様な事を言はれた、と思ふ。日記で見るとさう云ふ所が明らかに認め得られる。いやそればかりでは無い、飽くまで女性らしい所が諸所に認められる」

[25] Baba Kochô, "Ichiyô zenshû no matsu ni" (1912.6), p.581.「私どもは一葉君の女なることを忘れて居た傾がある。人たる一葉君を余まりに重んじ過ぎたので、 今日までも女としての一葉君を忘れて居たのだ」

selling point of the two-volume series. Referred to as a "secret text" (*hisho*), the diary is packaged as the female version of the genre of "success-story biography" (*risshiden*), an absolute "confession" (*kokuhaku-roku*), a truthful "observation" (*kan'satsu-shi*), and a behind-the-scenes literary history of the period.[26]

In addition, a key issue that keeps recurring in the discourse surrounding Ichiyô during her lifetime and ever more so after her death is the question of her virginity. As an unmarried woman in a literary world dominated by men, there was much speculation and anxiety over her demeanor. In the attempt to maintain a respectful stance toward this young woman writer, male critics tended to desexualize her and overemphasize her purity. In his memoir in *Chûôkôron*, Nakarai Tôsui presents the writer as an aged woman lacking in youthful vigor and health, perhaps in order to defend her reputation against rumors of their love affair. Sôma Gyofû quotes Tôsui's description of her in his influential essay, portraying Ichiyô not only as belonging to an older age, but also *as* aged.

With the publication of her diary, therefore, critics sought to find signs of her scandalous love affair with Tôsui, which had been the major part of the controversy surrounding its publication. While attempting to brush off ill rumors, Kochô nonetheless indulges in voyeuristic curiosity in his *Waseda bungaku* essay, looking for clues for a physical relationship in the diary. At the same time that Kochô characterizes Ichiyô as a "person of old morals" (*kyû dôtoku no hito*) in declaring that the love affair was platonic, he also characterizes her as a "progressive woman" (*shinshu-teki na fujin*) who made a living through her pen and visited the Ueno library

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[26] *Ichiyô zenshû*, Vol.2 (1912.6).「故樋口一葉女史の諸作は明治文壇の光輝也、女 史が遺せる所の日記四十四巻は、女史が晩年六年間の記録にして、操持不撓なる一女性の立志伝なると共に、感情熾烈なる女作家の忌憚無き告白録也、人生に対する偽らざる観察誌也、乱調なりし当時 の文壇裏？史也、増訂一葉全集は従来刊行の女史が諸作に加ふるに此比類無き秘書と、女史が小説随筆の未だ公刊せられしことあらざるものとを収む。前後両編合せて千五百余頁、此稀世の女作家の真面目を江湖に紹介するに於て遺憾なからん、敢て薦む。」

at a time when it was uncommon for women to do so. There is a disjunction between the image of Ichiyô as an independent professional woman and a pure virginal figure in need of paternal protection. Furthermore, claiming that Ichiyô's virginity was an important point in assessing her works, Kochô concludes by fantasizing that her sexual abandon may have been a revolutionizing force that would have resulted in further artistic growth.[27]

While Kôchô indulges in this fantasy, most male critics seem eager to protect the image of Ichiyô's sexual purity. In another essay published in *Shinchô* under the pseudonym Okanohito, the writer speculates assuredly: "From what we can see in the diary, Ichiyô seems to have died a virgin. There is no sign of her having known a man. Even if there is irony, there is no sign of a dark, muddled shadow in her heart."[28] Through the moralistic lens that rule over female sexuality, Ichiyô becomes canonized as the desexualized woman writer. While the assertion of Ichiyô's sexual purity was motivated by thoughtful considerations by her male peers to protect her reputation in the still patriarchal society, the image of the virginal woman writer simultaneously limited the scope of women's writing, and repressed other liberated expressions of female sexuality. It was partly to debunk this myth of the desexualized woman writer that various women writers began to respond.

2. Overcoming Ichiyô: *Seitô* and the New Woman Discourse

The canonization of Ichiyô as a model woman writer cast a threatening shadow to the *Seitô* women, who were determined to carve out a place for their voices in the changing modern

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[27] Baba Kochô, "Nikki wo tôshite mitaru Higuchi Ichiyô," Waseda bungaku (1911.12), p.6.「普通の意味から云ふと、一葉が処女で死むだらしく思はれる事が極く宜い事であらうけれども、一 葉の芸術的能力を発展させる方から見れば、結婚に終らない烈しい恋愛が一葉に有ったら反って面白かったかと思 はれる。」

[28] Oka no hito, "Nikki wo tôshite mitaru Ichiyô joshi no seikatsu," *Shinchô* (1912.7), p.107.「日記に現はれたところに依ると、一葉は処女で終ったら しい。どうも、男を知ったやうな形跡が見えない。心の上にも皮肉はあっても、暗い、濁った影は見られない。」

society. Even while progressive male intellectuals supported the arrival of the New Woman on a literary level, they had little tolerance for actual subversive behavior by women. In the summer of 1912, the year of the publication of the second *Ichiyô zenshû* (1912.5,6), the term New Woman became associated with real-life Japanese women, when a series of incidents made the women of *Seitô* prime targets for the media in a negative and scandalous light. Tabloid journalists reported the members' unfeminine behaviors of drinking liquor and visiting the licensed pleasure quarters of Tokyo, labeling them as "New Women" with a negative connotation and marking them as sexually and socially deviant.[29] The members of *Seitô* gained such an ill reputation in the press that they even began to lose female supporters of the journal who wished to distance themselves from this notorious group.

The *Seitô* controversy, fired by sensational journalism, turned the New Woman into a tangible cultural phenomenon. As these negative images rose to the forefront of media attention, what occurred in the following months was something like a tug-of-war between men and women who tried to define and capture the New Woman in dialogue with women's changing positions in society. Male writers sympathetic to the feminist cause wrote in defense of women's emancipation and advancement in society, some by dismissing *Seitô* women as unsuitable models, while in response, Hiratsuka Raichô recast the label of "New Woman" as a proud identity on behalf of the *Seitô* women. Part of this process of reappropriation was to give her own assessment of Higuchi Ichiyô, overcoming her shadow as she came to be canonized not only as a major figure in Meiji literary history, but as a model woman writer for younger generations.

Shinchô on the New Woman

Following the *Seitô* controversy in the summer of 1912, *Shinchô* conducted a special issue titled "Atarashii onna" (New Woman, 1912.9), featuring five male writers and critics. The

[29] See Chapter Four of Dina Lowy's *The Japanese "New Woman*" for a detailed response by the media, pp.57-78.

collection of essays in this special feature attempts to take the phenomenon of the New Woman out of gossip newspapers and reassess the matter on a more intellectual and literary level. The writers respond to the *Seitô* controversy in the popular press in various ways, trying to define the phenomenon and showing varying degrees of optimism concerning the present state of affairs. While many are critical of women in present society whom they perceive to be mistakenly awarded the label of the New Woman, others show a careful optimism with attention to practical aspects such as education, artistic production, and economic power. While the five articles are all united in the progressive hope that the advent of New Women will be an advancement for Japanese society, some essays reveal underlying gendered stereotypes and biological essentialism in the guise of sympathy for the feminist cause.

Uchida Roan, an influential critic, novelist and translator who began his career in the women's education magazine *Jogaku zasshi*, opens the series with an essay titled "Iwayuru atarashii onna no kaishaku" (Understanding the So-Called New Woman, 1912.9, *Shinchô*). He begins by attempting to capture the figure that has been circulating in the public discourse, defining the New Woman as "one who is not bound by preexisting morals or customs for women, and who boldly and freely acts as she desires, true to her individuality."[30] Although her unconventionality puts her dangerously close to social outcasts such as "idiots" (*hakuchi*) or "lunatics" (*kyôjin*), what distinguishes her from those social outcasts is "self-awareness" (*jikaku*) based on "knowledge" (*chishiki*). Although he is doubtful whether a truly "self-aware" woman yet exists in Japan, he finds progressive women most prominent in the field of the arts. Roan pokes fun at moralists who ostracize the emerging New Women in Japan, imagining how shocked they would be if they saw the New Women of Europe. While most Japanese women are

[30] Uchida Roan, "Iwayuru atarashii onna no kaishaku," *Shinchô* (1912.9).「「新しい女」と云ふのは、従来の型を破った女である。即ち、従来認められた女の道徳や、女の習慣に囚はれないで、自己の個性の儘に、欲する儘に、自由に、大胆に行動する女である。」

as of yet merely blind followers lacking in self-awareness, Roan predicts that their collective desire to emerge out of the preexisting state will create a current of "general movement" (*taisei*) that will gradually change the public opinion on womanhood. Thus, the *ryôsai kenbo* (good wife, wise mother) ideal of the Meiji period will inevitably be replaced by the actuality of the New Woman in the new era. Roan looks forward to the emergence of New Women in Japan, as they exist already in Europe.

Following Roan's essay, novelist and playwright Satô Kôroku's essay "Atarashiki onna sunawachi kusaki onna nari" (New Women are Smelly Women, 1912.9, *Shinchô*)[31] is a diatribe against certain outspoken women in contemporary society, revealing an underlying misogyny that echoes the public opinion as seen in the media. Alluding to the recent scandals of *Seitô* women drinking liquor and visiting the licensed pleasure quarters in Yoshiwara, Satô dismisses them as "madwomen" (*kyôteki no onna*), showing the dangerous proximity the New Woman stands in relation to social outcasts, as Roan warns in his essay. Rather than imitating men, Satô claims, women should strive to break through old morals and habits in order to attain a "new, womanly life" (*onna rashii atarashiki seikatsu*). Satô's view that women's sexual difference is key to becoming a New Woman, however, rests within biological essentialism: "Women must not forget their two breasts and their reality of bearing children. They must not forget why it is that they have long hair, supple flesh, and smooth skin."[32] It is with this view that Satô denounces Ibsen's heroine Nora for rebelling against her husband rather than cooperating with him to build a happy family life. Calling the 11th century writers Murasaki Shikibu and Sei Shônagon "New Women" of their time, Satô claims that women should write from the position of women, rather than usurping that of men.

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[31] Satô Kôroku, "Atarashiki onna sunawachi kusaki onna nari," *Shinchô* (1912.9).

[32]「女には二つの乳房があることを忘れてはならぬ。長い髪の毛があり、柔らかい肉と、滑らかな皮膚とあって、それ等は何んの用をなす為めであるかと云ふことを忘れてはならぬ。」

In "Gainen wo haikei to shita gûzô" (Idol Based on Concepts, 1912.9, *Shinchô*),[33] poet-turned-writer Mizuno Yôshû points to the elusiveness of the term New Woman, treating the phenomenon as something to be pinned down and uncovered through careful study. While the phrases "awakening" (*kakusei*), "self-awareness" (*jikaku*) or "establishment of the self" (*serufu no kakuritsu*) have become key concepts in describing the New Woman, this should only be a very basic step among the educated classes. In attempting to identify the true New Woman, Yôshû treats women as objects of "investigation" (*kenkyû*), dividing potential women into three major groups: those who make their own living, those who are fashionable and cultured, and those who write literature. Yôshû warns that one must not be misled by outward appearances of novelty in dress or habits, but must delve deeper and determine whether the appearance is backed up by "understanding" (*rikai*), "judgment" (*handan*) and "criticism" (*hihyô*). While he makes no reference to the women of *Seitô*, he claims that literary women are the most conspicuous of all, and must be analyzed carefully to determine whether they are doing things for show or acting from inner desire. By turning these women into objects of study, Yôshû takes away their agency as writers, concluding that the so-called New Women in today's society are no different from any conventional woman.

Baba Kochô's piece, "Atarashiki onna wo kangei sen" (Welcoming the New Woman, 1912.9, *Shinchô*),[34] is a strong call for women's rights and education. Kochô defines the New Woman as one who has "independent thought" (*dokuritsu no shisô*) and the "freedom to rebel" (*hankô no jiyû*) against old social customs. Referring to the women's suffrage movement in England, he claims that it is only natural that women should have the same rights as men, and that being a wife within the family is not the only option for women's existence. While the New

[33] Mizuno Yôshû, "Gainen wo haikei toshita gûzô," *Shinchô* (1912.9).
[34] Baba Kochô, "Atarashiki onna wo kangei sen," *Shinchô* (1912.9).

Women of Japan today are still not entirely independent from men, Kochô argues that the most important way to bring about this independence is through education. Echoing the social evolutionist rhetoric of early Meiji educators, Kochô argues that learning is key to becoming "civilized people" (*bunmei no ningen*), and women's education will contribute to the "progress of humanity as a whole" (*ningen zentai no shinpo*). While women's education has often been associated with a "moral education" (*tokuiku*) based on old-fashioned morality, what is in fact necessary is "intellectual education" (*chiiku*) that allows women to think for themselves in today's society. Because married life often hinders women's "spiritual progress" (*seishinjô de shinpo*), Kochô goes so far as to argue that women should have the option to stay unmarried and receive education until their mid-twenties.

While critic and journalist Yamaji Aizan shows skepticism towards the existence of the New Woman in "Shin ni atarashiki onna wa nashi" (There is No True New Woman, 1912.9, *Shinchô*),[35] this final essay in the collection takes Kochô's essay another step further and finds the root of the problem in the economic structure of Japanese society, focusing on women's economic power as the most important aspect of realizing their independence and progress. While the so-called New Women in Japan today demand freedom and rights through the spiritual awareness they have gained through education and knowledge, they cannot escape from being dependent on men without economic power. What is necessary is to change the current family system and property rights, so that women can become truly independent. Aizan proceeds to criticize those who argue that women's independence would destroy the Japanese family, claiming that the family system has already evolved and transformed over time. Seen from a broad historical perspective, he argues that women's independence will be only one change among many, and that it will pose no threat to the happiness of humanity.

[35] Yamaji Aizan, "Shin ni atarashiki onna wa nashi," *Shinchô* (1912.9).

Hiratsuka Raichô's Rejection of Ichiyô

It was within this context of heated debates surrounding the New Woman that Raichô's essay on Ichiyô appeared in *Seitô* (1912.10).[36] While the various essays by progressive male intellectuals on the pages of *Shinchô* give witness to their active engagement with and support for women's advancement in society, they also reveal certain prejudices women still had to fight against, even among their most avid sympathizers. For the feminist writer Raichô, Higuchi Ichiyô, who had become canonized as a model woman writer and an embodiment of Japan's past, became an obstacle to overcome in self- proclaiming the birth of the New Woman in the present age. Like Virginia Woolf's rhetoric of killing the Victorian phantom of the "Angel in the house" in order for a modern woman to write freely without constraint,[37] Raichô's rejection of Ichiyô is also a symbolic killing of a haunting figure from the past that overshadows the present. Focusing on Ichiyô's diary from the two-volume *Ichiyô zenshû*, Raichô strategically underscores the old-fashioned nature of the writer, cutting her off completely from the present age. While her reading of Ichiyô's work is strategically simplistic, we can read her rejection as stemming from her resistance to the contemporary veneration of Ichiyô as the model woman writer.

Calling Ichiyô and Yosano Akiko female geniuses of the Meiji period, Raichô posits Akiko as the woman of the modern age while relegating Ichiyô to the past. This is clearly shown in the beginning of the essay, where Raichô compares two passages, one from Ichiyô's diary and the other from Akiko's opening poem in the inaugural issue of *Seitô*. The passage from Ichiyô's diary is reflective and melancholy, pointing to the ambivalence of being a woman in a male centered literary world. This marks a striking opposition to Akiko's proud announcement of womanhood in her feminist manifesto, expressing the desire to write in the first person. Raichô's

[36] Hiratsuka Raichô, "Ensô yori: Onna toshite no Higuchi Ichiyô," *Seitô* (1912.10).
[37] Virginia Woolf, "Professions for Women," *The Death of the Moth and Other Essays* (1942).

choice to juxtapose these two passages, written for entirely different purposes and audiences, clearly show her strategic stance to posit the two women writers as binary opposites. Consigning Ichiyô to the past in relation to which the present is referred to as "new Japan" (*shin Nihon*), Raichô claims that Akiko's proud proclamation of womanhood is made possible precisely because of the tears of resignation shed by women of the past, represented by Ichiyô.

As is already evident, Raichô follows Sôma Gyofû's assessment of Ichiyô as belonging to "old Japan" (*furui Nihon*), and values her work as a "national literature of the past, depicting the nature of the Japanese woman of the past."[38] At the same time, Raichô's claim that Ichiyô is particularly venerated by "manly men" (*otoko rashii otoko*) who feel pleasure in their own relative power by exaggerating women's weakness, could be an implicit critique of Gyofû, who occupies an ambivalent position in the New Woman discourse. Nevertheless, while Raichô tries to counter the prevailing opinion on Ichiyô, her essay ultimately remains within the scope of the dominant discourse. Like many contemporary male intellectuals, Raichô fixates on Ichiyô's love affair with Nakarai Tôsui, thereby attempting to reveal her "views on love" (*ren'ai-kan*) and "ideals" (*risô*), which were important feminist topics discussed in the pages of *Seitô* during this time. Ichiyô is ultimately unable to fulfill her love, Raichô explains, due to her Confucian belief in chastity and Buddhist condemnation of emotional life. Raichô thus characterizes Ichiyô as uneducated and having shallow inner life, formed entirely by Confucian morality, Buddhist thought, and old-fashioned Edo-period literature.

Raichô further criticizes Ichiyô for entering the writing profession for financial reasons, rather than for the elevated purpose of becoming a writer for its own sake. This criticism is somewhat anachronistic, however, given that it was only after the Russo-Japanese War that writing fiction became a respectable profession to aspire to. While Ichiyô came to be canonized

[38] Hiratsuka Raichô, *Seitô* (1912.10), p.105.「過去の日本の女の性情を描いた過去の国民文學」

as a "genius of women's literature" (*joryû bungaku no tensai*) in the lineage of the Heian period writers Murasaki Shikibu and Sei Shônagon, Raichô claims that her fame is merely coincidental since her life only shows a passive struggle against and self-sacrifice for ideal womanhood and expectations of filial piety.[39] While her strength lies in powerfully representing the sorrows of oppressed women, as Gyofû had praised, they are fundamentally different from the sorrows of "modern women" (*kindai-teki no onna*) in lacking conscious reflection. Without the critical faculty to question her values, Raichô predicts that Ichiyô probably would not be concerned with feminist issues or the New Woman movement even if she were to live into the present moment. By thus rejecting Ichiyô completely, Raichô attempts to overcome the shadow of Ichiyô as the model woman writer figure in the present age.

Tamura Toshiko's Response to Ichiyô

Tamura Toshiko is another female writer that responds to the publication of Ichiyô's diary. Modern critic Seki Reiko sees Toshiko's turn from the deliberately classical, anachronistic style of *Tsuyuwakegoromo* (Dew Drenched Robe, 1903.2, *Bungai kurabu*) to the modern colloquial style as an overcoming of Ichiyô.[40] Toshiko's essay "Watashi no kangaeta Ichiyô joshi" (Ms. Ichiyô as I Think of Her, 1912.11, *Shinchô*) can also be read as an overcoming of Ichiyô, but in a strikingly different manner than Raichô's essay. In contrast to Raichô's feminist rejection of Ichiyô as a model for modern women, Toshiko's essay, published one month later, rather reaches out and embraces the writer with nostalgia, narrating her reading experience and giving her own imaginative account of Ichiyô's life. By re-writing the standard narrative of Ichiyô's life that was established through her canonization, Toshiko effectively subverts her powerful presence by re-fashioning the writer into her own narrative realm of aesthetic decadence.

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[39] Ibid, p.127.「彼女の生涯は女の理想（彼女自身の認めた）の為め、親兄弟の為めに自己を殺したもの。其の価値は消極的の努力奮闘そのものである。彼女の生涯は否定の価値である。」
[40] Seki Reiko's *Ichiyô igo no josei hyôgen* (2003).

Declaring not to give an objective critical portrait but one that is colored through her own sentiments and memories, Toshiko recounts her experience of re-reading Ichiyô's works as a tactile experience through the metaphor of clothing and her own body.

> I read her novels with great admiration when I was still young. Taking up *Ichiyô zenshû* now, I remember my naïve emotions before anything else. It has the charming delight of taking out an old kimono that I had worn as a young girl from the wicker basket and breathing in the smell once again. Touching her works after over a decade, my gentle sentiments enveloped her apparition that emerged from the five-year diary with nostalgic tears against the backdrop of my bygone youthful sentiments, holding the woman Higuchi Natsuko as a whole in a warm embrace.[41]

The experience of re-reading Ichiyô's works through the new *Ichiyô zenshû* is imagined as embracing an old kimono, whose smell and touch stir the memory of Toshiko's own innocent youth. Rather than creating a distance, Toshiko incorporates the writer into her own experiences and memories so that she no longer poses threat. As typical of Toshiko's style, there is even a hint of eroticism as she describes taking "Higuchi Natsuko" in her warm embrace, referring to Ichiyô by her real name as if she has discovered the real woman behind the literary persona.

Taking inspiration from her diary, Toshiko proceeds to unfold a sentimental, dramatic narrative of Ichiyô's life. Her much embellished and fictionalized account focuses particularly on Ichiyô's alleged love for Nakarai Tôsui, who is transformed into a romantic hero that saves the helpless heroine.

> When unexpectedly, amidst distress and twists of fate, the road to her future happiness was presented to her through a person's hand, and when she realized that this strong hand leading her vulnerable self belonged to a man named Tôsui, she, who was still young and helpless, could not have helped but feel a wondrous beating in her heart. She became close to him as a

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[41] Tamura Toshiko, "Watashi no kangaeta Ichiyô joshi," *Shinchô* (1912.11), p.24.「この人の小説は私がまだ肩上げをしている頃に大層崇拝して読んだものでした。それで今斯うして一葉全集 を手にして見ると、何よりもまづ自分の昔の初心な情緒が忍ばれるのでした。自分の娘時代に着古した着物をふと、葛籠の底から取り出して、その匂ひを再び嗅いだやうな床しいおもむきがあるのでした。いかにも懐かしかったのであります。十何年振りで女史の作品に再び触れた斯う云ふ私の柔らかな感情は、五年間の日記を通してその上に現はれた女史の姿をも、やはり私の往事の若やかな情調を背景にしたなつかしい涙の内に引包んでしまって、唯あたたかく樋口夏子と云ふ女性の全体を抱擁してしまってるやうなところがありました。」

> teacher and an older brother, clinging to his arm and entangling herself to his gentle heart. Her youthful blood felt timid for the first time, and her obstinate feelings began to waver.[42]

In contrast to the common perception of Ichiyô as desexualized and aged, Toshiko's Ichiyô abandons herself into the romantic encounter with youthful passion. Toshiko thus rewrites the standard narrative of Ichiyô's life, summarizing this brief period of romance to be "the most magnificent, emotionally filled period of her life, charged with gentle agitation and joy."[43] As Ichiyô dives further into the rough waves of society, Toshiko writes, she continues to nurture the memory of her love. In this new narrative, Toshiko imagines the heroine of *Takekurabe* Midori to be closest to the author, who remembers her youth and first love with lingering pathos.

In this highly embellished narrative, it is notable that Toshiko does not characterize Ichiyô as someone encased in the past, but identifies with the writer as someone grappling with the same problems she faces as a writer in the present day. Reflecting her own anxieties onto Ichiyô's life, Toshiko considers the problems that the writer had faced as her own: her sudden rise to fame, the economic aspect of literary production, and the dichotomy of art versus life. Contrasting Ichiyô with keywords often used by the media against herself, such as "self-indulgent" (*hôshô*), "extravagant" (*gôka*) and "passionate" (*netsuretsu*), Toshiko instead praises the writer as "honest" (*shinsotsu*), "firm" (*gensei*) and "sincere" (*seijitsu*). While she concludes the essay by claiming that Ichiyô had died before sufficiently developing her "philosophy" (*shisô*) concerning "true life" (*shin no jinsei*) and "profound art" (*fukaki geijutsu*), Toshiko upholds her as someone who never lost her sense of "self" (*jiga*) despite her limited experience

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[42] Ibid, p.27.「さうして窮迫逆運の最中に思ひがけなく人生の幸福な道がこの人の手にあって自分の前途に展かれたと同時に、覚束ない自分を其の途に導いてくれる力強い手はこの桃水と云ふ人の所有であると感じた時、まだうら若い頼りない女史の胸に不思議な鼓動の響きを伝へずにはいられない筈であった。女史はこの人を師としてなつかしみ兄として親しみ、一向その腕に縋りその優しい心に纏繞らうとした。女史の若い血潮はこの時初めて物恐ぢ深い頑なな情癖のうちに揺らぎ初めたのであった。」

[43] Ibid, p.27.「女史の短い生涯の内において一番華やかな、情緒を含んだ、優しい動揺を帯びた、感興限りない女史の生の一部なのである」

and short life, even as she maintained her humble exterior as a woman. Far from seeing her as a woman contained in the past, Toshiko imagines Ichiyô as perpetually developing; only after the passing of her success in the literary world would Ichiyô have been able to reflect upon the pathos of life and experience the "true revolution of the self" (*shin no jiko no kaikaku*).

Raichô's Self-Declaration as a New Woman

Following the symbolic "killing" of the phantom of Ichiyô amidst the media fascination with the emerging New Woman phenomenon, Raichô makes the bold move to take the controversial term New Woman and declare it as an identity. In an essay published in the 1913 New Year issue of *Chûôkôron* as part of the women (*keishû*) writers series, Raichô declares herself a New Woman evoking the same sun image used in the inaugural issue of *Seitô*: "I am a New Woman… What is truly and eternally new is the sun. I am the sun."[44] Later in the same month, this manifesto is reproduced in *Seitô* in her introductory essay to Swedish feminist Ellen Key's *Love and Marriage* (1911). Here, the performative rhetoric of the original manifesto in the general interest magazine is qualified and put into context for the feminist venue. While her declaration to be a New Woman seemed to embrace biological essentialism, Raichô here questions the binary notion of gender itself, claiming that *Seitô* women strive not only to be a New Woman but also a gender neutral "New Person" (*shinjin*), aiming to become a "complete individual who has achieved spiritual freedom."[45] This questioning of gender as essential categories shows that Raichô's manifesto in *Chûôkôron* was a strategic performance of taking on the female persona in the male-centered magazine.

Raichô's essays were part of *Seitô*'s serious engagement with the so-called Woman Question (*fujin mondai*), a term that is carried over from the mid-Meiji reformers considering the

[44] Hiratsuka Raichô, "Atarashii onna," *Chûôkôron* (1913.1).「自分は新しい女である（中略）真にしかも永遠に新しいのは太陽である。自分は太陽である。」
[45] Ibid.「新人として、真に新しき女として心霊上の自由を得た完な全な一個の人格たらむとする」

nature and role of women in the changing modern society. In the following months, *Seitô* continued to engage with this topic in special supplements devoted to the New Woman and the Woman Question, departing more and more from its initial character as a literary journal. As *Seitô* became increasingly political as feminism gained prominence alongside socialism, the government began to control publication that were thought to be socially disruptive, which resulted in the repeated banning of *Seitô* along with other women's magazines.[46] In such a climate, *Chûôkôron* conducted a special issue on the Woman Question (*Fujin mondai-gô*, 1913.7), calling the 20th century "an era of women's awakening" (*fujin kakusei no jidai*). This concern for women's issues led to the publication of their sister magazine *Fujin kôron* (Women's Review, 1916.1), which became an important venue of publication for women writers and journalists after the discontinuation of *Seitô* in February 1916.

3. Rejecting Tamura Toshiko

Just as Higuchi Ichiyô was canonized as the representative woman writer of the Meiji period, Tamura Toshiko increasingly came to be regarded as an exceptional figure among other women writers of the Taisho period. As we have seen, Toshiko made her career by writing for major literary magazines and newspapers, and her success was fired by the New Woman phenomenon that focused on her eccentric figure, making her a media sensation. As Ichiyô came to embody the past, the media presented Toshiko as having a radical break with the past, fashioning her as a distinct and representative modern writer in the discourse of the New Woman. In contrast to Ichiyô who was canonized as desexualized and aged, Toshiko was portrayed in the opposite image as alluring and deceivingly youthful.

[46] The February 1913 issue of *Seitô* was banned for socialist activist Fukuda Hideko's "The Solution to the Woman Question," and April 1913 issue of *Seitô* was banned for Raichô's "To the Women of the World" for attacking the Japanese marriage system.

At the same time that Tamura Toshiko played a major role in consolidating the commercial category of women writers in the expanding media and publishing industry, her success, along with the renowned poet Yosano Akiko, was a singular one that did not contribute to the recognition of women's literature as a whole. Rather than becoming part of the community of women writers, Toshiko wrote for the mainstream media among male intellectuals, serving as the representative woman writer while in reality distancing herself from the community of women. With Toshiko as the solo exception, women's literature continued to be perceived as secondary, as represented by writers affiliated with *Seitô*.

Moreover, in contrast to Hiratsuka Raichô who embraced the New Woman as a political identity, Toshiko's rejection of the New Woman identity and increasing association with aesthetic decadence came to be at odds with the important feminist mission of women's awakening. This image increasingly placed Toshiko in opposition to the *Seitô* women, whose social activism led them to believe in progress and enlightenment, values which the decadence movement subverted. The more Toshiko became appraised for her decadent aestheticism, the more problematic she became as a candidate for the New Woman, resulting in an aggressive rejection of Toshiko by *Seitô* women, who had initially embraced her in the founding of the journal. *Seitô* women began to view Tamura Toshiko as an obstacle to overcome, just as Ichiyô had posed a threat to them only a few years earlier.

Women's Supplement Column in *Yomiuri Shimbun*

As discussed in Chapter One, Tamura Toshiko and Yosano Akiko emerged in the mainstream media as representative women in the literary arts within the New Woman discourse. They came to serve as two pillars of women writers for *Yomiuri Shimbun*, who aggressively used the two women to promote the image of the woman writer (*joryû sakka*). When *Yomiuri* added a

regular column devoted to women's issues under female editorship called "Fujin furoku" (Women's Supplement) in April 1914, Toshiko and Akiko were chosen to be regular contributors for the literary column. On March 22nd, *Yomiuri* announced the newly inaugurated Women's Supplement column, followed by a series of advertisements for new titles that will be included in the expanded pages. This announcement shows *Yomiuri*'s strategic emphasis on literature and active involvement in women's issues to expand its readership, particularly aiming for women readers. As an increasingly popular writer, Tamura Toshiko played a key role in both of those aims, her name appearing twice on the page among the names of literary figures highlighted in bold in large font.

In the announcement for the upcoming Women's Supplement column, the names of Yosano Akiko and Tamura Toshiko are highlighted and celebrated as the "two most talented women of *Yomiuri*" (*Yomiuri no nisaien*) and "the two bright jewels of the female literary world" (*keishû bundan no sôheki*). *Yomiuri*, which calls itself here the "only supporters of women in the newspaper industry," uses the names of these two female writers in order to give legitimacy to its new involvement in contemporary women's issues. Furthermore, the advertisement for Toshiko's upcoming novel *Kuraki sora* (Dark Sky), to be serialized in *Yomiuri Shimbun* starting April 1914, is tied to the changing mission of *Yomiuri* as follows:

> Tamura Toshiko is regarded as the leading woman novelist [*keishû shôsetsuka*] in the Meiji and Taisho periods. Now, she is about to portray the **life of a New Woman** through her refined and colorful pen. She has promised to give her all to this great work, and will no doubt add another masterpiece to the Taisho literary world. We, *Yomiuri Shimbun*, are proud to present to our readers this great work at the outset of our reform.[47]

[47] *Yomiuri Shimbun* (1914.3.22).「人は女史を以て明治大正第一の閨秀小説家となす　今や其の精錬の彩筆を揮って新しき女の生活を描写せんとす、然も女史は此の大作に向って全力を傾注せんとを約せらる、必ずや大正の文壇に一傑作を加へん、吾が讀賣は改革の劈頭に於て此の大作を読者に提供し得る事を誇りとす。」

The phrase "life of a New Woman" is highlighted in bold in larger font, capturing the readers' attention and connecting it to the announcement on the Women's Supplement column. While Toshiko's image had already by this time come to be at odds with the New Woman, *Yomiuri*'s repeated use of her name, twice highlighted in bold in large font, suggests her popularity and value as a central marketing tool.

To further accentuate Toshiko's central position in *Yomiuri Shimbun*, there appears on the same day an essay on Toshiko by Iwano Hômei.[48] As a translator of Arthur Symons' *The Symbolist Movement in Literature* (1899) and an advocate of decadence as a new aesthetic movement, Hômei praises Toshiko as a representative figure of aesthetic decadence and connects her to Tanizaki Jun'ichirô, who had only just began to emerge as an important writer of the new generation. Criticizing "male writers" (*dansei sakka*) such as Masamune Hakuchô and Tokuda Shûsei for being tied to "conventional, old-fashioned concepts," Hômei points out that these outdated portraits of women have gone uncorrected due to the lack of "women critics" (*fujin hihyôka*). Reading her most recent work "Kan tsubaki" (Winter Camellia, 1914.3, *Shinchô*) as a gentle satire on male writers that fail to portray female characters convincingly, Hômei singles out Toshiko and Tanizaki as "novelists who are able to portray women that are breathing the air of the new age."[49]

Negative Responses to Tamura Toshiko

Raichô takes up this role of the "woman critic" in her review of Toshiko's "Hôraku no kei" (Enveloped by Fire, 1914.4, *Chûôkôron*) in the June issue of *Seitô* (1914.6). While acknowledging Toshiko's contribution to women's writing in pioneering her own artistic boundaries beyond those set out by men, Raichô is largely critical of her works and points out

[48] Iwano Hômei, "Fujin kansatsu ni okeru gendai no kekkan," *Yomiuri Shimbun* (1914.3.22).
[49] Ibid.「通り一遍の旧式な概念に従って かの女が取り扱はれている小説ばかりが多いではないか 」「新時代の空気に触れた婦人を描写 し得る小説家」

the lack of solid conviction that inspires the reader to go beyond superficial "sensuality" (*kan'nô*) and "sensitivity" (*kankaku*).[50] Going along with the character analysis typical in the New Woman discourse, Raichô focuses her review on Toshiko's heroine figure rather than viewing the work as a whole beyond character representation. The heroine falls short of being a New Woman (*shinfujin*) in Raichô's eyes, lacking in "self-awareness" (*jikaku*) and "self-reflection" (*naisei*) that would conjure emotional anguish or conflict. Without a "true self" (*shin no jiga*), the story ends without exposing the "superficial and conventional morality" (*inshûteki na gaimen dôtoku*), making her works merely filled with "futile words" (*kûkyo na monku*).

Another negative assessment is Mizuno Yôshû's "Tamura Toshiko joshi ni okuru sho" (A Piece for Ms. Tamura Toshiko, 1914.7, *Bunshô sekai*). While Hômei appraises Toshiko for her decadent aesthetics, Mizuno's diatribe against her is not so much a criticism directed to an individual writer, but an attack against the irreverent tendency of the period as represented by the literary trend of decadence. Yôshû's investment in the New Woman phenomenon was already apparent in his essay in the *Shinchô* special feature where he cautioned against superficial New Women, particularly among literary women who make up the most conspicuous group. This rhetoric of superficiality in opposition to some hidden inner depth is key to Yôshû's critique of Tamura Toshiko. In the beginning of the essay, Yôshû declares that he will address Toshiko in the form of an open letter as a representative of a certain type of women in contemporary Japanese society. With a moralistic tone, he declares that a writer's outward "talent" (*sai*) and "adornment" (*shûshoku*) are meaningless in comparison to the essential objective of capturing "one's life" (*jiko no seimei*). Yôshû accuses Toshiko of resting in "blind corporeality" (*môoku-na nikutai*), only seeking pleasure and resigning oneself to fleeting sensations without

[50] Hiratsuka Raichô, *Seitô* (1914.6).「都会人として、殊に女性として生得の洗練された感覚を有し又氏自からも之れを自覚して男子の書いた人生に囚はれることなく、そこに氏自身の芸術境を自から開拓されたことは今日の女流文壇に於ては殊に尊敬すべきは云ふ迄もない。」

confronting the "fundamental self" (*konpon no jiko*). What is commonly perceived as Toshiko's talent or wit is "vulgar" (*hizoku*), "frivolous" (*yûgi-teki*) and "irreverent" (*fukeiken*). In Yôshû's eyes, Toshiko is only one among the masses, "[lying] asleep among the miscellaneous, unaware people… wandering and playing, her mind only reflecting passing pleasures."[51]

Special Issue on Tamura Toshiko in *Chûôkôron* (1914.8)

As the three essays by Hômei, Raichô and Yôshû show, Tamura Toshiko becomes increasingly torn between the opposing discourses of the New Woman and decadence. This ambivalence is evident in the special feature in *Chûôkôron* (1914.8), which discusses Toshiko in relation to the Women Question (*fujin mondai*), a topic the magazine had declared a year before as central in the 20th century. As *Chûôkôron* tended to focus on political figures rather than literary ones as a general interest magazine, the choice to feature Toshiko points to her importance as a public figure beyond the realm of literature. While the *Shinchô* issue on Toshiko featured mostly male writers, this *Chûôkôron* issue includes three essays by *Seitô* women, reflecting their feminist intervention in the New Woman discourse that had hitherto been dominated by male intellectuals. There emerges an interesting gender divide: while male critics approach Toshiko as a representative woman writer that will reveal new truths about modern women, the *Seitô* women aggressively criticize her as old-fashioned and unawakened, just as they had done with Ichiyô to overcome her canonical presence.

The special feature opens with Tamura Shôgyo's essay "Nichijô seikatsu to kôyû" (Everyday Life and Acquaintances, 1914.8, *Chûôkôron*), in which he gives voyeuristic insight into the myriad details of Toshiko's daily life from the perspective of a husband, from house keeping, money spending, eating and sleeping habits, writing schedule, personality to social life.

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[51] Mizuno Michitarô, "Tamura Toshiko joshi ni okuru sho," *Bunshô sekai* (1914.7).「女史はただ彷徨し、ただ戯れて居る。女史の心にはただその場の快楽が映って居るだけである」

Shôgyo once again invites an autobiographical reading of her works, describing her behavior in domestic life to be just like the passage in her short story "Miira no kuchibeni" (Painted Lips of A Mummy, 1913.4, *Chûôkôron*). His essay evokes a curiosity towards Toshiko's idiosyncratic, sometimes playful, sometimes turbulent character that is prevalent in the media. He confirms the popular image of her as a "licentious woman" (*hôjû na onna*), claiming that it is impossible to "bind the freedom of great love [*zetsudai na ai*] with the feeble excuse of a marriage."[52] By discussing their married life in this detached manner, as if he condones her illicit love affairs, he perpetuates the image of Toshiko as an unconventional and amorous woman.

Despite all the private details he discloses, Shôgyo's essay is more performative than confessional. He strategically mentions the names of all the writers contributing to this special issue, as if they are all in on the joke despite what the essays say about Toshiko. He mentions Masamune Hakuchô, Kamitsukasa Shôken and Tokuda Shûsei in the list of literary men with whom Toshiko is acquainted, claiming matter-of-factly that her affection for one of them is surely "romantic love" (*ren'ai*). Shôgyo describes her ambiguously avoiding to specify the person, as if to tantalize the men whose names are mentioned, while emphasizing her coquetry to the readers. Furthermore, he characterizes Nogami Yaeko, Hiratsuka Raichô and Iwano Kiyoko, the three women who contribute to this special feature, as all having distinguished male partners as mentors, including Iwano Hômei who contributes an essay. By presenting himself as a worthless husband, a "lazy scoundrel" living off of Toshiko's earnings, Shôgyo performatively heightens Toshiko's position as an independent, professional woman.

While Iwano Hômei had connected Toshiko and Tanizaki in his *Yomiuri* review, this essay shows his underlying assumption that a woman writer has access to a unique woman's

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[52] Tamura Shôgyo, "Nichijô seikatsu to kôyû," *Chûôkôron* (1914.8).「夫婦関係があるといふやうな薄弱な理由を以て、他の絶大な愛の自由を束縛するわけには如何考へて も行かない」

experience that is inaccessible to men, and that her writing should thus reflect this privileged knowledge.[53] Evaluating her short story "Yûutsu na nioi" (Scent of Melancholy, 1913.10, *Chûôkôron*), Hômei differentiates Toshiko from such male writers as Tanizaki, Nagai Kafû, Tayama Katai and Masamune Hakuchô in having "a sense of rooted corporeality" (*kontei no aru niku no kanji*). Responding to Mizuno Yôshû's attack on Toshiko published the previous month, Hômei praises her for having the "courage and exertion to honestly depict a woman's voice, a woman's breath and a woman's life."[54] While Hômei agrees with Yôshû that Toshiko may be "unaware" (*mujikaku*) and "old-fashioned at heart, though seeming new"[55] on the ideological level, it is the very "corporeality" that Yôshû attacks that makes her valuable as a woman writer in Hômei's eyes.

While the association with corporeality grants a privileged position to women writers, this also reduces them to a biological essentialism that distances them from critical thinking. Hômei argues, however, that Toshiko's "old-fashioned" disposition is socially determined, that the fault lies not in the individual woman but in society. What is necessary in order to raise the level of women to become New Women is to reform society by changing men's expectations. Hômei thus applauds "Kan tsubaki" (Winter Camellia, 1914.3, *Shinchô*) for portraying a "fighting spirit against men's old-fashioned dogmatism, as a woman, for women."[56] It is this spirit, he claims, that is necessary to correct the feeble depiction of women by male writers, and to reform women's lives so that they can lead a "new life" (*atarashii seikatsu*).

In contrast to Iwano Hômei's assessment of Toshiko as a positive force to the social advancement of women, the three women of *Seitô* show little enthusiasm for Toshiko and her

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[53] Iwano Hômei, "Mada yabo kusai Tamura joshi," *Chûôkôron* (1914.8).
[54] Ibid.「可なり女自身の声、女自身の息、女自身の生命を生地で出すだけの勇気と奮発が見えている」「婦人が婦人の為めに立つ新しい生活を真にやれる人だか、どうだかには疑いがある」
[55] Ibid.「新しかるべき筈のやうなかの女が底を叩けばまだ古いままでいる」
[56] Ibid.「婦人として婦人の為めに旧式な男子の独断に向って戦ふ意気」

heroines as worthy of the title of New Woman. While Masamune Hakuchô and Kamitsukasa Shôken both celebrate Toshiko as the modern day Ichiyô, even preferring her works as more relevant to the present age,[57] Toshiko's ambivalent stance towards the New Woman and affinity with aesthetic decadence poses a threat to *Seitô* women in taking the New Woman as their identity. Agreeing with Yôshû's criticism, Raichô characterizes Toshiko as superficially clever but fundamentally unenlightened:

> Fundamentally, Ms. Toshiko is neither a unique individual nor a New Woman who lives with the desire to live an authentic life. Is she not merely an old-fashioned Japanese woman with shrewdness and skill, a product of the bygone culture of the old parts of Tokyo, degenerate, materialistic and dull?[58]

Raichô's assessment of Toshiko as an "old-fashioned Japanese woman" is echoed by the other two women in the special feature. Nogami Yaeko writes that while Toshiko's rich writing style and acute sensitivity makes her writing outwardly attractive, it lacks an "intellectual side" so that she "has no unique philosophy in her life or in her character representation, nor is there any new self-awareness [*jikaku*] towards romantic relations."[59] Iwano Kiyoko also criticizes Toshiko for being "a woman who has not stepped out of the shell of common morality."[60] While acknowledging her strengths such as "sensuality" (*kan'nô*), "sensitivity" (*kankaku*) and "artifice" (*gikô*), Kiyoko argues that Toshiko's heroines are unable to break free from "the preexisting world of women," from which the New Woman must step apart.

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[57] Masamune Hakuchô, "Toshiko ron," *Chûôkôron* (1914.8).「明治の一葉は或は時代が時代だから、態度も旧日本的で、文章も旧風に泥んでいたが、田村氏 は今様に自己を憚る所なく出さうとしている」；Kamitsukasa Shôken, "Mitsumame no sukina hito," *Chûôkôron* (1914.8).「昔の一葉もよかったであらうが、時代の違っただけに、今の私たちには一葉よりも俊子の方を取りたいと思はせる点が多い」

[58] Hiratsuka Raichô, "Tamura Toshiko ron," *Chûôkôron* (1914.8).「俊子さんは別にどうといって根本に於ては特殊な個性のある婦人でもなく、人間としてほんとの生活をしようといふやうな要求や努力に生きる新しい婦人でもなく東京の下町の堕落した、物質化した、平面化した過去の文化が生んだ、利巧な、器用な古い日本婦人ではないでせうか。」

[59] Nogami Yaeko, "Toshiko-shi ni tsuite egaku watashi no gen'ei," *Chûôkôron* (1914.8).「生活にも性格描写にも、別に特殊な哲学もなければ、新らたな恋愛的自覚も見出す事は出来 ない」

[60] Iwano Kiyoko, "Watashi no kangaeteiru Tamura Toshiko-shi," *Chûôkôron* (1914.8).「一般道徳の殻から、一歩もぬけ出していない婦人だ」

Tamura Toshiko Anthologized

While Toshiko had occupied an ambivalent position among the women of *Seitô* from the start, as exemplified by her short story "Ikichi" in the journal's 1911 inaugural issue, her incompatibility with their feminist mission became accentuated as she gained prominence in the literary world. Just as Ichiyô came to be canonized through the Hakubunkan anthologies, Toshiko's position as a prominent woman writer was affirmed by Shinchôsha's forty-four volume *Daihyô-teki meisaku senshû* (Collection of Representative Masterpieces, 1914-26), which compiled works of modern Japanese literature from Meiji to early Taishô periods. This series was an important and longest running project since the founding of Shinchôsha, featuring many so-called Naturalist writers associated with the journal. While Ichiyô shared the 7th volume with Takayama Chogyû, and Yosano Akiko was included in the 14th volume as one of six Meiji poets, Tamura Toshiko was the only woman writer to have her own volume in this series. Published in the 28th volume with the title *Onna Sakusha* (Woman Writer, 1917.11), the preface calls Toshiko a "leading contemporary woman writer," and characterizes her works using a series of familiar key words in the rhetoric of decadence: "acute sensuality" (*kan'nô no eibin*), "unbridled passion" (*jônetsu no honpô*), "abundant florid expression" (*shisô no hôtan*), and "refined technique" (*gikô no seiren*). It also mentions her "diabolism" (*akuma shugi*) born out of her metropolitan type of nature, making a clear connection to Tanizaki whose book *Otsuya goroshi* (The Killing of Otsuya, 1916.2) was the 18th volume in the series.

Tamura Toshiko's career ended quite abruptly as she left Japan for North America in 1918.[61] In the 1930s, Toshiko's works were resurrected in Kaizôsha's famous *enpon* series

[61] Tamura Toshiko followed the writer and journalist Suzuki Etsu, whom she later married in Vancouver. They ran a publishing house and together published *The Continental Daily News*. After Suzuki's death, Toshiko returned to Japan in 1936, then left again for China two years later on the invitation of the Japanese military. She moved to

Gendai Nihon bungaku zenshû (Anthology of Modern Japanese Literature, 1926.12-31), for which she earned 4,000yen in royalties. This time, she shared a volume with two other women writers, Nogami Yaeko and Chûjô (Miyamoto) Yuriko. While Shinchôsha's anthology had situated her as a Naturalist writer in the context of decadent aestheticism, which had placed her at odds with *Seitô* women including Nogami Yaeko, this Kazôsha anthology in the 1930s places her within the larger frame of women's literature, a category which had crystalized in the 1920s and which Toshiko had initially helped consolidate in the 1910s. Placing these three very different writers under the same rubric, Kaizôsha's anthology erases the various conflicts and differences among women writers in the early decades of the 20th century, uniting them under the now established label of women's literature.

4. Constructing a Community of Women Writers

Just as *Shinchô* played a crucial role in Tamura Toshiko's career and in the New Woman discourse, the literary journal continued to be an important venue for women writers in the following years. As women gained interest as social subjects in a society where new types of educated women were becoming visible, *Shinchô* gave many women writers the opportunity to publish short stories and essays, as well as participate in special features on the nature of women's writing. As the meaning and social value of literature were being debated on the pages of the journal, particularly in light of the so-called *yûtô bungaku* (decadent literature) debate,[62] women began to take a tone of seriousness in discussing their new identity as women writers with the understanding of the profession as something to aspire to. Rather than submitting their

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Shanghai in 1942 and became an editor of *Josei* (Women's Voices), a monthly women's magazine published during the Japanese occupation of Shanghai, devoted to enlightening Chinese women. Toshiko died in Shanghai in 1945.

[62] The *yûtô bungaku* debate was spurred by Akagi Kôhei's essay "*Yûtô bungaku* no bokumetsu," *Yomiuri Shimbun* (1916.8.6&8).

works to journals anonymously or under pseudonyms as many did in the start of their writing careers, the increased interest in women's writing allowed women to write commissioned pieces under their own names as professional writers. While women's writing first gained interest in the early half of the 1910s as filling the gap of dominant literature, as a source to reveal some hidden truth about their experience that was inaccessible to men, the increase in the number of women writers led critics to begin to move away from such gendered expectations to make room for different types of women's literary expression. The burgeoning community of women writers in the late 1910s thus paved the way for the mass expansion of women's writing in the 1920s.

Women Writers and *Shinchô*

In a special feature that appeared in *Shinchô*'s New Year issue of 1916, a group of women discussed their new identities as women writers under the title "Watashi-tachi no sakka wo kokorozashita dôki oyobi bundan ni tatan to suru hôfu" (Our Motivations for Becoming Writers and Aspirations Upon Entering the Literary Establishment, 1916.1, *Shinchô*). It featured eight short essays by young women in their early twenties, each essay accompanied with a headshot of the author. Some were already active members of the feminist journal *Seitô*, while others were still unknown and appearing for the first time on the pages of *Shinchô*. The writers featured were, in order, Araki Shigeko,[63] Yoshiya Nobuko (1896-1973),[64] Mori (or Muraoka) Tama (1894-1970),[65] Kubota Tomie,[66] Shiraki Shizu (1895-1918),[67] Kobayashi Katsu (1894-1974),[68] Ono

[63] Little is known. Contributed to *Seitô*. Older sister of Araki Ikuko, who was involved in *Seitô*.
[64] Born in Niigata. Moves to Tokyo after graduating girl's higher school to become a writer with the help of her brother who was a student at Tokyo Imperial University. Associates with *Seitô* women such as Nogami Yaeko, Ikuta Hanayo and Okamoto Kanoko while writing children's stories. Becomes hugely successful after the publication of the girls' novel *Hana monogatari* (Flower Tales, 1916-24).
[65] Born in Hokkaido. Classmates with Shiraki Shizu in Sapporo Higher Girl's School, but drops out due to illness. Moves to Tokyo in 1911 to become a writer, and becomes an apprentice of Morita Sôhei. Stops writing after her marriage, but takes up her pen again in 1932 and becomes a prolific essayist.
[66] Little is known. Contributed to *Seitô*, as well as other journals.
[67] Born in Hokkaido. Graduated from Sapporo Higher Girl's School in 1911. Studies under Morita Sôhei following Morita Tama. Morita Sôhei wrote an afterward to her novel *The Woman on Crutches* (1913.12).

Michiko (1890-?),[69] and Katô Midori (1888-1922).[70] In their essays, the women seem to be responding to a set of questions that the journal posed – how they came to write, their aspirations as a woman writer, and their view of today's literary world (*bundan*).

Grouping together eight women and having them respond to a series of questions, the feature creates a sense of community of a new generation of women writers presented to the readers of the journal. These essays mark a clear contrast with another set of essays in the same issue, where a group of twenty-six male writers give their predictions for the potential changes in the literary world in the coming New Year. While the amateur quality of the women writers are emphasized with the autobiographical and confessional mode of writing based on interview form, the male writers are presented as authority figures giving their thoughts on the state of literature today. This gender divide is clearly marked on the title page as two visual blocks presented separately from one another. Furthermore, Tamura Toshiko and Nogami Yaeko are showcased on the title page as established women writers in the novels section, as well as Yosano Akiko in the poetry section.[71] The eight women are thus presented as a burgeoning generation of women writers, marking the beginning of 1916 in the New Year issue.

The series of essays show how the writing profession has become something to aspire to, not only for men but also for women. Modern critic Yamamoto Yoshiaki locates a paradigm change around the year 1917, where the author's "work" and "life" became interchangeable in evaluating a literary work.[72] These 1916 essays show that the "attitude of the author" (*sakka no*

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[68] Assistant editor of *Seitô* from 1911 to1914. Novelist, essayist, translator.
[69] Becomes a writer after marriage to support her family. Published a dozen or so works in venues such as *Shinchô*, *Bunshô sekai* and *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun*.
[70] Born in Nagano. Moves to Tokyo in 1906, and becomes an apprentice under Tokuda Shûsei. Moves to Osaka with her husband in 1911, and becomes an active member in *Seitô* from afar. Moves back to Tokyo in 1913, and works as a journalist and writer.
[71] Nogami Yaeko's "Shûi" (Surroundings), Tamura Toshiko's "Hôrô" (Wandering), Yosano Akiko's "Shu no kuzu" (Scraps of Vermillion) in *Shinchô* (1916.1).
[72] Yamamoto Yoshiaki, *Bungakusha wa tsukurareru* (2000.12).

taido) was already becoming a crucial criterion in judging the value of a literary work. The assumption in this new paradigm was that great literature could only be achieved if the writer himself approaches life with seriousness and honesty, and this moral gravity placed on the profession played a part in raising the status of literature. Following this paradigm shift, each woman declares her determination to embrace the identity of a writer with a tone of solemnity. This is evident in the title of Mori Tama's essay "Shinjitsu de aritai" (I Want to Live in Truth, 1916.1, *Shinchô*), in which she recounts her awakening for "serious literature" (*majime na bungaku*) in her development as a writer.[73] Reflecting the immediate connection with the literary work and the author, Shiraki Shizu also looks back to her decision to become a writer as simultaneous with her resolution to "live a serious, truthful life."[74]

While this vow of earnestness for their work and for their own personal life becomes reiterated throughout the special feature, the essays also show the women grappling with the notion of what it means to write in a male-dominated literary world. Embracing the serious approach to literature, Araki Shigeko summarizes her aspirations as a woman writer as follows:

> I hope to always experience life with the attitude of truth [*shinjitsu*] and devotion [*keiken*], and aspire to dissect, critique and reveal the true woman [*jun josei*] from deep within, where men have never entered and perhaps will never be able to enter.[75]

Using the surgical rhetoric of Naturalism, Shigeko expresses the wish to reveal some kind of "truth" about women's experience that male writers cannot capture. Shiraki Shizu, on the other hand, resists this gender dichotomy based on biological essentialism, and criticizes the current literary world as being narrow-minded and constricting. Rather than writing from the gendered position of a woman, she claims to be more interested in delving into the inner depths of human

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[73] Muraoka Tama, "Shinjitsu de aritai," *Shinchô* (1916.1).
[74] Shiraki Shizu, "Watashi hitori no koto" *Shinchô* (1916.1).「真面目な真実な生を送らうと考へた」
[75] Araki Shigeko, "Daiichi no koi daini no koi" *Shinchô* (1916.1).「常に真実と敬虔な心持ちで人生を味ひ、男子の未だ入らざる、否恐らく永遠に入り能はざる底の純女性の解剖、批判、主張をしたいと思っています」

psychology, without being conscious of her own sex. Prefiguring the interest in Freudian psychology in the 1920s, Shizu departs from the standard Naturalist rhetoric of depicting nature "as it is" and expresses her desire to capture "colors unseen in nature."[76]

The writing profession, furthermore, is seen as a means to distance oneself from the sensational journalism surrounding the New Woman. Kubota Toshie recounts how she decided to become a writer as a rebellion against the ridicule she had faced, imagining the literary establishment (*bundan*) to be a higher realm of existence that would set her apart from popular criticism.[77] Ono Michiko, on the other hand, sees the literary establishment to be just as tainted as the popular media when it comes to women, expressing her frustration that only sensational writings become talked about while those seriously trying to grapple with literature become labeled as "old" (*furui*) or "unawakened" (*jikaku ga nai*).[78] Instead, Michiko expresses her admiration for Higuchi Ichiyô, recounting her reading experience of *Ichiyô zenshû* in her youth, as well as her renewed admiration for her character upon reading Ichiyô's diary.

Whether or not the literary world serves as a haven against popular media, there is an awareness that women must work even harder to resist popular criticism, and to prove themselves to be serious writers. As an active member of *Seitô*, Katô Midori writes on behalf of the community of women writers, expressing dissatisfaction at the present social status of women's literature but also showing optimism for the future:

> Thinking of the position of women writers today brings forth much frustration and anxiety. For this reason, I truly feel that future women writers must cultivate their characters and develop their true strength. The literary world will come to demand these types of women writers in the future. We live in a world where even men are fast forgotten after a moment of

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[76] Shiraki Shizu, "Watashi hitori no koto" *Shinchô* (1916.1).「これまでの大方の小説のやうに単なる自然そのままを描写するやうなのよりは、自然に見られない色彩をカンヴァスの上に見ることが出来るやうに、表面に見えなかった人の心の深い心理や霊の不可思議運命といふやうなものを私は紙の上に書きたいと思っています」

[77] Kubota Tomie, "Seimei no tsukiru made," *Shinchô* (1916.1).

[78] Ono Michiko, "Otto o tasukeru tameni," *Shinchô* (1916.1).

> fame; women are forgotten even more quickly after a momentary fad, unless they have a strong foundation. While there seems to be a number of women who earn their living with their pens today, why is it that women still cannot openly pursue their careers in public?[79]

Recognizing the inferior position of women, Katô Midori claims that women must work even harder to nurture their "characters" (*jinkaku*) in order to achieve a stable status in the literary world. She is hopeful that the literary world, and society at large, will come to demand serious women writers in the future. As a model for such a world, Katô upholds the British female writer George Eliot as the ideal figure who wrote not only fiction but also criticism:

> How should we proceed, if we want to live a true literary life, using our pens to earn our living? I uphold the British writer Eliot, a woman writer with strong intellect. As someone who has learning, is a critic, and has made her name known throughout the world through masterpieces such as *Romola*, she must not only be a genius but also have practical and social intelligence. It is no longer sufficient to write novels only, without being able to write criticism and reviews.[80]

While George Eliot had been recognized as a distinguished woman writer in Japan since the 1880s, Katô Midori here praises the writer both as a successful novelist *and* a critic. By emphasizing the role of the critic, she attempts to redefine women's writing as something beyond the gendered confines of representing women's experience. Rather, women writers of the future would participate in various forms of literary life as intellectuals, creatively and critically engaging with the dominant literary world.

As seen in Katô Midori's identification with George Eliot, a striking point that runs through the essays is the unanimity of European literature in the women's literary education.

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[79] Katô Midori, "Watashi no bungaku," *Shinchô* (1916.1).「現代女流作家の位置について考へて見ますと随分不満も不安もあります。それを考へると今後の女流作家は本当に人格から養成して実力を貯へて立たねばならないと思ひます。又文壇も今後はさう云ふ女流作家を求める様になるだらうと思ひます。男子にしても一時世に出ても直ぐ忘れられて了ふやうな世の中に、殊に女はお祭騒ぎをされてもそれが根底がないと直ぐ飽きられて了ふと云ふ風で真に心細いものであります。現 代には随分筆で働いて居る女子もあるやうですが、どうも社会に出て表だって活動する事の出来ないのはどう云ふものでせうか。」

[80] Ibid.「私達は筆を持って生活し文学で真に生きて行かうとしたなら一体どうした道を辿ったら宜しいでせうか。私は英国のエリオットのやうな頭脳のしっかりした女流作家を理想とします。学識もあり、批評家でもあり、而してロモラのやうな大作をして世界的に名を馳せた女史は確に天才であると共に能才でなくってはなりません。小説は書けるが評論も批評も出来ないと云ふ様では如何なものでせう。」

Discussing the works they were inspired by in becoming writers, many women remember works of European literature that were available to them in translation. Most quoted are the Russian novelists: Tolstoy (Yoshiya Nobuko), Dostoevsky (Mori Tama), Artsybashev (Kubota Tomie), and Turgenev and Gorky (Ono Michiko). Interestingly, every one of these names is included in the list of Shinchôsha publications at the end of the issue. Divided into translated works and works written in Japanese, and further organized by different genres (novel, drama, essay, study, poetry, dictionary, history, etc), the list of Shinchôsha publications presents an impressive array of titles that were available to its readers in book form at the beginning of 1916. This shows the crucial role the publishing house played in creating a sense of world literature, as well as national literature, a decade before the *enpon* boom made these works available to the mass public.

Shinchô's Rising Women Writers Issue (1916.5)

Four months after the special feature on the eight young women writers, *Shinchô* devoted the entire May issue to "rising women writers" (*shinshin joryû sakka*). The issue opens with an essay by Nogami Kyûsen (or Toyoichirô), a scholar of English literature and the husband of Nogami Yaeko. Kyûsen's opening essay, "Fujin to bungei" (Women and the Literary Arts, 1916.5, *Shinchô*), marks a shift in the assessment of women writers, proposing a re-examination of the gendered expectations that are cast upon them. By putting into question the dichotomy of male intellect (*richi*) and female emotion (*kanjô* or *shinjô*), Kyûsen refutes the validity of critiquing women's writing based only on their assumed gender. In making this argument, Kyûsen reconsiders the notion of femininity as reliant on woman's self-sacrifice, which was a product of an age when civilization was patriarchal, whether in feudal Japan governed by Confucian thought or in western countries based on Christianity. With the advent of the

awakening of women's self-awareness in the age of feminism, Kyûsen claims with strategic optimism that equality between the sexes is now an ordinary fact that need not be questioned.

Echoing Katô Midori's praise of George Eliot, Kyûsen asserts that certain women writers such as Georges Sand, George Eliot, and Madame de Staël possess qualities that are considered masculine such as enlightened intellect and unbiased observation. While these European women had been recognized in Japan as notable women writers since the 1880s, Kyûsen detaches these "masculine" qualities from biological essentialism and argues that they can be attributed to either sex. Rather than committing oneself to a single gender, Kyûsen writes, an artist must strive to become a non-gendered "New Person" (*shinjin*) that sees reality without illusion. These artists are true revolutionaries that stand next to writers like Tolstoy, Strindberg, and Ibsen. Kyûsen concludes that for the literary arts, it is not only useless to distinguish a woman's sphere (*fujin no ryôbun*), but rather even harmful to do so in becoming true artists.

Following Kyûsen's essay, the issue features works by three women presented as "rising women writers," all of whom had appeared in the January issue: Shiraki Shizu, Araki Shigeko and Ono Michiko. These three pieces are each accompanied by short essays by male critics as if to give legitimacy to the women's works, in respective order: Morita Sôhei, Iwano Hômei and Kamitsukasa Shôken.[81] These three reviews reflect Kyûsen's proposition of moving away from gendered expectations in evaluating women's writing. Furthermore, this new generation of women writers are presented as burgeoning writers with potential for future development, posited against the ghost of Tamura Toshiko who lurks in the background. Whether overtly or covertly, the now established woman writer stands as a measure against which rising women writers become measured, whether as someone to live up to or someone to reject.

[81] "Shinshin joryû sakka sanshi no keikô," *Shinchô* (1916.5).

Iwano Hômei, an avid defender of Tamura Toshiko, distinguishes her in this essay as one of the very few accomplished women writers of the day, asserting that Araki Shigeko should strive to achieve what Toshiko had achieved in her works. Morita Sôhei and Kamitsukasa Shôken, on the other hand, evoke Toshiko without naming her as a figure for future writers to overcome. In claiming that Shiraki Shizu's "technique" (*gikô*) is "not the type that paints face powder with the tip of the brush," Sôhei is clearly evoking Toshiko who has often been associated with the metaphor of "face power" (*oshiroi*).[82] Rather than the superficial technique that Toshiko flaunts, Sôhei asserts that Shizu displays a skillful manipulation of the overall work, pointing to the depth of the work beneath the surface. Kamitsukasa Shôken less overtly evokes Toshiko without naming her, criticizing the lack of "sincerity" that is prevalent in writings by "half-awakened women." He presents the mission of future woman writers as follows:

> The age has passed when a woman writer could give value to her writing simply by having a certain freshness of rhythm that is absent in male writers, created by the delicate tunes of her nerves. Women writers of the future must have strong rhythm and bold, beautiful strings, harboring the resolution to fight against the ornamentation and false vanity of the age.[83]

The image of feminine delicacy with which Toshiko and Ichiyô had so often been associated is here replaced by the image of strength and will. Kamitsukasa points to the emphasis on "truth" and "sincerity" that becomes central in judging literature, breaking through "falseness" (*kyogi*) with a strength that goes beyond traditional notions of femininity.

The editor's note at the end of the journal informs the reader that there was in fact a fourth piece by Katô Midori, which was pulled at the last minute out of the publisher's discretion due to the possibility of censorship. They ended up including, however, Hiratsuka Raichô's

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[82] Morita Sôhei, "Shiraki Shizuko," *Shinchô* (1916.5).「単に筆の先で白粉を塗るやなう技巧ではない」

[83] Kamitsukasa Shôken, "Ono Michiko," *Shinchô* (1916.5).「女流作家が、ただ其の細かい神経の旋律によって、男性の作家の有っていない或る爽かな調子で、其の作品に価値を附けた時代は過ぎ去っている。これから現はるる女流作家は、強い調子と太くさうして美しい線とを有って、時代の嬌飾虚偽と戦ふの覚悟をも抱かなければならぬ。」

essay that was written in response to the unpublished work. In contrast to the three male critics, Raichô's review is written in the form of an open letter to the author, taking the familiar tone of an older sister figure giving advice to the younger writer. While Katô's story tells the feminist tale of a woman's awakening, Raichô shows disappointment in the lack of force and vividness of character, claiming that the storyline of a woman's awakening "has now become familiar and presents nothing new… we are no longer satisfied with such a story."[84] Ironically, the editor's decision to pull Katô's story for fear of censorship shows that the public was not as tolerant of New Woman stories as Raichô would have liked to believe. Yet, her strategic optimism shows her attempt to push feminist writing to the next level, regardless of its acceptance in reality.

The issue further includes a chronology of Tamura Toshiko's life along with two other male writers, giving witness to the canonical status that the writer has achieved through the decade. As I have shown in this chapter, the 1910s sees the development and canonization of certain women writers and a new generation of writers that grapple with that legacy. The image of the woman writer that becomes solidified through Higuchi Ichiyô and Tamura Toshiko present obstacles for women who do not fit the image. While the feminist women of *Seitô* rejected the two figures in the attempt to have their own voices heard, Ichiyô and Toshiko once again become resurrected in the 1920s as a legacy of women's writing, this time within a global framework as I will discuss in the following chapter.

[84] Hiratsuka Raichô, "Katô Midori-shi ni," *Shinchô* (1916.5).「遂に大胆に今迄の自分の生活を否定し、親も弟も妹も捨てて恋人との新生活に赴くといふやうなことになるのは、今日ではもう当り前のことで、決して珍しいものではないでせう。。。私達はもう只これ丈のことでは満足出来なくなって居ります」

Chapter Three

Translation, World Literature, and Women's Literary History

As women's literature became a major category in the 1920s with the vast expansion of female readership, Japanese women continued to create separate spheres of literary production through women's magazines throughout the 1920s.[1] During the unprecedented flourishing of print and translation culture due to the introduction of *Enpon* (one-yen books) in the latter half of the 1920s, the mass publication of literary anthologies, not only "classical" (*koten*) but also "modern" (*kindai*) and "contemporary" (*gendai*) Japanese literature alongside "world literature" (*sekai bungaku*), created a sense of global simultaneity, as well as a historical view of literature that gave rise to the idea of literary history. As the notion of "world literature" surfaced conspicuously alongside the notions of various national literatures, women's writings came to be imagined as having their own alternative genealogy alongside the dominant literary histories. This chapter examines the global envisioning of women's literary history by two women who were contemporaries, Japanese feminist writer Ikuta Hanayo (1888-1970) and British modernist writer Virginia Woolf (1882-1941), and illuminates the feminist imagining of women's solidarity transcending time and space as a source of empowerment in the late 1920s. Furthermore, with the backdrop of the global simultaneity of literary practice, predicated on a vibrant translation culture that enabled the transnational transmission of texts, I explore how the rhetoric of gender

[1] Following *Seitô* (Bluestocking, 1911.9-16.2), *Safuran* (Saffron, 1914.3-8), and *Biatorisu* (Beatrice, 1916.7-1917.4) in the 1910s, the major women's literary magazines edited by women in the 1920s were *Uman karento* (Woman Current, 1923.6-1926.12), *Kuro shôbi* (Black Rose, 1925.1-8), *Nyonin geijutsu* (Women's Arts, 1928.7-1932.6), and *Hi no tori* (Phoenix, 1928.10-1933.10). These emerged alongside popular, commercial women's magazines of male-editorship such as *Fujin sekai* (Woman's World, 1906-), *Fujokai* (Woman's Sphere, 1910), *Fujin kôron* (Woman's Review, 1916), *Shufu no tomo* (Housewife's Companion, 1917), and *Fujin kurabu* (Woman's Club, 1920). For an overview of mass women's magazines, see Barbara Sato, *The New Japanese Woman* (2003), pp.78-113.

was central to the theories of Japanese literary modernism through an examination of Itô Sei's conception of new psychological literature (*shin shinrishugi bungaku*) and the reception of foreign literary theories and modernist works.

1. Envisioning Women's Literary History in 1920s Japan

Enpon Boom and World Literature

With the flourishing of a vibrant translation culture from the late 19th century onward, the idea of "world-scale" (*sekai-teki*) became a key concept in the early decades of the 20th century as Japan strove to establish its own national identity within the global sphere. Publishers such as Hakubunkan and Shinchôsha played leading roles in producing translations of foreign texts, as they established themselves as major players in the expanding world of publishing and journalism.[2] While the idea of "world literature" (*sekai bungaku*) had been central to Shinchôsha's endeavor from the 1910s, the Enpon Boom in the latter half of the 1920s, as various publishers competed to offer affordable editions of literary anthologies for only one-yen per volume in monthly installments, led the company to expand their venture to a mass audience with the publication of the thirty-eight volume *Sekai bungaku zenshû* (Anthology of World Literature, 1927-). The model for this project was Britain's Everyman's Library, founded in 1906 with fifty titles, offering beautiful editions of the world's classics at one shilling per volume. The aim of Everyman's Library "to appeal to every kind of reader: the worker, the student, the cultured man, the child, the man and the woman"[3] resonates with the rhetoric of the Japanese publishers competing to expand their readership to the masses, regardless of gender or class.

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[2] Hakubunkan published the twelve-volume *Kindai Seiyô bungei sôsho* (Modern Western Literature Series) in 1912. In 1914, Shinchôsha began publishing a series of pocketbook-size translations of western works, which came to forty-four volumes over the next decade.

[3] "Everyman's Library: About Everyman's." Random House. Accessed on May 15, 2012. <http://www.randomhouse.com/knopf/classics/about.html>.

The Enpon Boom flooded the market with affordable anthologies both originally in Japanese and translated, creating a sense of global continuity among literatures across the world. While it was in the late 1890s that the Japanese government began to establish public libraries with the aim to create a "reading nation" (*dokusho kokumin*),[4] the Enpon Boom allowed middle class families to have miniature versions of these libraries in the home. In the two-page spread advertisement for Shinchôsha's launching of *Sekai bungaku zenshû* in *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* (1927.1.29), the idea of world literature is closely tied to the rhetoric of the nation, presenting a clear educational mission in the domestic realm.

> We are Japanese, and at the same time world citizens [*sekai-jin*]. There is no educational institution more suitable to help achieve the qualifications of world citizens than translated literature. It was long ago in the Meiji period when translated literature was thought to cause digestive difficulties, like western cuisine; now, in the Showa period, both western food and translations have become everyday staples. While people no longer read Kôyô and Rohan, there is no one, even among children, who has not heard of Jean Valjean. It is a threat to national life [*kokumin seikatsu*] to impose high cost on precious foods as has been done in the past. With this literary anthology, we provide 1,300 pages of translated manuscripts for one yen – approximately the same amount and price as the Everyman series in England. Yet, no matter how inexpensive, poor content will cause national indigestion. We will make this our slogan: Provide first-rate products for a definitively low price![5]

Making an analogy to nourishment, the advertisement claims that translations of western literature have become vital to the creation of a healthy "national life" (*kokumin seikatsu*). Just as culinary tastes developed as Japan underwent an intense process of westernization from the beginning of the Meiji period, literary tastes are also understood as having changed in the

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[4] Nagamine Shigetoshi, *"Dokusho kokumin" no tanjô: Meiji 30nen no katsuji media to dokusho bunka* (2004).
[5] Quoted in Aoyama Takeshi, "Shinchôsha-ban enpon *Sekai bungaku zenshû* ni tsuite," *Sekai bungaku geppô: Shôwa-ki bungaku, Shisô bunken shiryô shûsei*, vol.4, p.384.
「吾々は日本人であると共に世界人だ。その世界人としての資格を全うせしめる教化機関は翻訳文芸の外にはない。翻訳文芸が西洋料理と一緒に消化し難いものだと思はれていたのは、明治の昔の事で、昭和の今日では、洋食も翻訳も余りに必要な日常糧食だ。紅葉露伴を読まない者はあっても、ジャンバルジャンを知らない者は、子供の中にもいない筈だ。その貴重な糧に従来の如き不廉の価を課する事は、国民生活の一脅威だ。小社即ち本全集を刊行して、訳稿一千三百枚ものを壱円で提供する。英国のエベリマン叢書と量も定価もほぼ同一だ。が、いくら廉価でも内容が粗悪では、全国的消化不良を招かざるを得ない。絶対の良質品を断然たる廉価に！是れを本全集のスローガンとする。」

sequence of linear progress. Now, in the age of world literature, people have left behind Meiji period classics such as Ozaki Kôyô and Kôda Rohan and have developed a taste for Victor Hugo, whose *Les Misérables* marks the first volume to be issued in this anthology. Taking the stance of an educational mission tied to public health, the advertisement claims that right kind of books, like correct nutrition, are necessary to cultivate "world citizens" (*sekai-jin*) in the modern global age.

Ikuta Hanayo and Women's Literary History

As evident in the rhetoric of Shinchôsha's advertisement, world literature was closely connected to the changing notions of literature, and its relation to what was imagined as a collective "national life." In addition to creating a global sense of literature in which the national can be positioned, the mass publication and circulation of literary anthologies also created a broad historical view of literature that gave rise to the idea of literary history. This modern construction of literary history, both national and global, became especially important for women writers struggling to find their place and identity in the publishing world that witnessed an unprecedented expansion of female readership. In the late 1920s, Japanese feminists began to imagine an alternative literary lineage for women, engaging with the utopian idea of the solidarity of women transcending time and space.

An important figure in this envisioning of women's lineage is Ikuta Hanayo, a feminist thinker, writer, and journalist who played a key role in the lively debates over women's economic independence and sexuality in early 20th century Japan. Hanayo began her career by submitting works to the literary magazine *Joshi bundan* (Women's Literary World, 1905.1-1913.8), and came to Tokyo in 1910 to work as a journalist. She joined Japan's first feminist journal *Seitô* (Bluestocking, 1911.9-1916.2) in 1913. She attacked the double-standards surrounding female

sexuality and the lack of women's legal rights in her controversial essay "Taberu koto to teisô to" (On Hunger and Chastity, 1914.9, *Hankyô*), which instigated the so-called Chastity Debate (*teisô ronsô*) among the members of *Seitô* in 1914 and 1915.[6] Hanayo actively addressed women's issues in major venues such as *Fujin kôron* (Woman's Review, 1916.1-) and *Fudôchô* (Dispute, 1925.7-1929.2), while avidly supporting women's journals such as *Biatorisu* (Beatrice, 1916.7-1917.4) and *Nyonin geijutsu* (Women's Arts, 1928.7-1932.6) as an indispensable space for women's literary production.

Hanayo's book *Kindai Nihon fujin bungei: Joryû sakka gunzô* (Modern Japanese Women's Literature: Portraits of Women Writers, 1929) gives witness to her prolific career in journalism and active involvement within the community of women writers, anthologizing her essays on women and writing published in various journals mostly from the latter half of the 1920s. The book can be situated as the first systematic attempt to assess an alternative literary history for women as an empowering source for contemporary women's writing. The bulk of the book consists of personal memoires on contemporary women writers in relation to the immediate history of women's writing from Meiji period onwards.[7] While these memoires merit a study on their own accord, I will focus here on the Preface, which shows Hanayo's overarching feminist vision that stems from the ongoing discourse on world literature and national culture.

Hanayo begins the Preface with a global and transhistorical vision. Defining literature as embodying the "soul of the age," she argues that literature "allows people to respond to one

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[6] In the essay, Hanayo recounts her experience of sexual harassment and criticizes the Japanese legal system that deprives women of inheritance and profession, arguing that chastity is secondary to survival in the present condition. This was criticized by Yasuda Satsuki in her response, "Ikiru koto to teisô to" (On Survival and Chastity, 1914.12, *Seitô*). Hiratsuka Raichô and Itô Noe also joined the debate. See Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality* (2003), pp.49-50.

[7] The writers featured are Higuchi Ichiyô (1872-96), Yosano Akiko (1878-1942), Senuma Kayô (1875-1915), Itô Noe (1895-1923), Hiratsuka Raichô (1886-1971), Endô (Iwano) Kiyoko (1882-1920), Kujô Takeko (1887-1928), Yanagihara Akiko (Byakuren) (1885-1967), Chûjô (Miyamoto) Yuriko (1899-1951), Miyake Yasuko (1890-1932), Hirabayashi Taiko (1905-72), Kodera Kikuko (1884-1956), Hayashi Fumiko (1903-51), Hanabusa Yoshiko (1892-1983), Sugiura Suiko (1885-1960), Okamoto Kanoko (1889-1939), and Kitami Shihoko (1885-1955).

another through the ancient past and present, connecting minds across oceans and bridging East to West, always intimate and near" (Ikuta, 5).[8] The two-syllable Chinese compound words "*kokon*" (past-present) and "*tôzai*" (East-West) in this phrase, both keywords of the 1920s, sums up the effects of Japan's translation culture followed by the Enpon Boom that created a shared sense of humanity. Opening with this macro and humanitarian vision, Hanayo then goes on to define literature as having distinct national characteristics: "Each literary work has a homeland. It appears in the world wearing native clothing, resonating with native sounds" (Ikuta, 5).[9] It is the role of literary histories to give order and shape to these literary works, each embodying national characteristics to make up a conglomeration understood as national culture.

The elevated status of literary histories is further recognized in their educational value for the masses, in which translation plays a critical role. Hanayo acknowledges not only the editors of Japanese literary history books, but also the translators of various European national literary histories (e.g. England, France and Germany), as being beneficial to what she calls the "common reader" (*ippan dokusho-shi*):

> For the common reader who has no knowledge of foreign languages, there are now translations of various national literary histories that are easy to read and understand, thanks to the efforts of good translators. We want to relish and make ourselves familiar with these works, tasting the paths of the progress of humanity. We want to savor the spirit of the age reflecting literary prosperity from past to present, East to West, making it material for our spiritual life.[10] (Ikuta, 7-8)

This idea of "common readers" shows Hanayo's awareness of the mass reading public as a result of the Enpon Boom. Just as foreign literatures were avidly translated from the late 19th century

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[8] 「従って人々はこの文芸によりて、とほく古今呼応し、洋の 東西をへだててしかもつねに親しくつねに近く、その心と心とを結び合ふことが出来る」

[9] 「文芸はその各々が古郷を持つ。その世に現るるや古郷の服装をもってし、古郷の土音をもってする 」

[10] 「私達日本人の為にも日本文学史の編著は実に多く興へられている。なほ、外国語に通ぜざる一般読書子のためには、世界各国の文学史が、それぞれよき翻訳者を得て、きわめて解しやすく、読みやすく訳出されている今日である。われわれは、作品を読み味わふと同時に、これらの文学史にしたしみ、しづかにこの人文進化の跡を味ひ、文芸の興隆のあとに古今東 西の時代心を味到し、これをわれわれの精神生活の資料としたいものである。」

onwards in the process of westernization, foreign literary histories are now seen as worthy to merit translation for its educational value to cultivate world citizens. As a new, important genre of study, Hanayo speculates, an entire library could be filled with literary histories, both domestically produced and of foreign origin.[11]

Celebrating literary history as a new form of cultural knowledge, and recognizing its importance in the formation of national culture, Hanayo calls for an unbiased history that captures literature from a birds-eye view perspective. This reflects Hanayo's gendered critique and revisionist vision of literary history that has focused mainly on what she calls "male culture" (*dansei bunka*), often overlooking or eclipsing women's achievements. Locating Goethe, Shakespeare, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky as great heights of Western literature, Hanayo evokes the 11th century Heian court as Japan's great literary past, exemplified by two women writers Murasaki Shikibu and Sei Shônagon. While the vibrant literary culture by the women of the Heian court was canonized in the literary histories in modern Japan as proof of the *continuity* of Japanese culture, Hanayo emphasizes the long period of *silence* of women's writing until the modern period. Evoking contemporary Western women writers as a source of inspiration, as Iwamoto Yoshiharu had done in *Jogaku zasshi*, Hanayo positions her endeavor of revisionist history in the global feminist context by attempting to construct a modern history of women's writing through her memoires.

The Tale of Genji **as World Literature**

Within the overwhelming silence of the history of women writers, Hanayo singles out Murasaki Shikibu's *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji, 11th century) to be a unique exception. This focus on the 11th century woman writer stems not only from Hanayo's feminist motivations, but also from the modern canonization of her work as a national classic, particularly following

[11] 「その有名なるものを数へても一個の図書館を必要とするにちがひないのである」 (7)

the English translation by Arthur Waley (1889-1966), published in six volumes from 1925 to 1933.[12] It was through Waley's translation that *Genji* came to be widely recognized in and outside of Japan as a literary masterpiece with the potential of rivaling the great modern European novels, anachronistically gaining the title of the world's first novel (*shôsetsu*). Waley's translation of *Genji* and its incorporation into the canon of world literature greatly impacted not only contemporary Japanese writers who revisited the ancient work in the fresh light of modern English (such as Masamune Hakuchô, Tanizaki Jun'ichirô, and Kawabata Yasunari), but also contemporary European writers encountering the work in English translation for the first time.

One such writer was Virginia Woolf, who, by the mid-1920s, was an established literary critic and an emerging writer in England. Soon after the publication of a book length collection of essays *The Common Reader* (1925.4) and her fourth novel *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925.5), Woolf received an assignment from British *Vogue* to review the first volume of Waley's translation.[13] In this review (1925.7),[14] Woolf articulates her fascination with the world of *Genji* and its author "Lady Murasaki." While her astonishment at finding such a high level of culture and sophistication in 11th century Japan is shared with other contemporary reviewers of Waley's translation, Woolf shows a playful consciousness of the reader's romanticization of the East in

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[12] *The Tale of Genji* began to be canonized as "world literature" following the Russo-Japanese War. See Tomi Suzuki, "The Tale of Genji, National Literature, Language, and Modernism" (2008). The six volumes of Arthur Waley's translations are titled as follows: *The Tale of Genji* (1925), *The Sacred Tree* (1926), *A Wreath of Cloud* (1927), *Blue Trousers* (1928), *The Lady of the Boat* (1932), and *The Bridge of Dreams* (1933); Collected in *The Tale of Genji: A Novel in Six Parts* (1935).

[13] Woolf was a regular reviewer of the *Times Literary Supplement* and other major literary journals, and it was largely for financial reasons that Woolf wrote for the commercial venue of British *Vogue*, to which she contributed a total of five signed articles in the 1920s. After Woolf's greatest commercial success, *Orlando* (1928), *Vogue* increased her pay from twenty to fifty pounds per essay. See Hermione Lee, "Virginia Woolf's Essays" in *The Cambridge Companion to Virginia Woolf*, edited by Sue Roe and Susan Sellers, pp.91-108; Jane Garrity, "Virginia Woolf, Intellectual Harlotry, and 1920s British Vogue," in *Virginia Woolf in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, edited by Pamela L. Caughie, pp.185-218; Leila Brosnan, *Reading Virginia Woolf's Essays and Journalism: Breaking the Surface of Silence*; Beth Carole Rosenberg and Jeanne Dubino (eds), *Virginia Woolf and the Essay*.

[14] "The Tale of Genji: The First Volume of Mr. Arthur Waley's Translation of a Great Japanese Novel by the Lady Murasaki," British *Vogue Magazine*, London, late July 1925; Reprinted in *The Essays of Virginia Woolf, Volume 4: 1925 to 1928*, ed. Andrew McNeillie (London: The Hogarth Press, 1994), pp. 264-9. (abbreviated as *EVW*4)

light of the fin-de-siècle Japonism that served as an inspiration for European art and continued to color the image of Japan in early 20th century England. Woolf's awareness of encountering this foreign world through translation is expressed in the description of her reading experience as seeing through "Mr. Waley's beautiful telescope" (*EVW*4, 267), pointing out the "accidental" charm that arises from the reader inadvertently giving the text "advantages of background and atmosphere which we are forced to do without in England today" (*EVW*4, 266).[15]

Woolf ultimately does not rank Murasaki among "Tolstoy and Cervantes or those great story-tellers of the Western world" (*EVW*4, 267). Yet, following this critical assessment, Woolf evocatively describes the poems that appear in *Genji* as "break[ing] the surface of silence with silver fins" (*EVW*4, 266), which resonates with her own artistic vision that can be traced throughout her writings. Images of water and aquatic creatures often appear in Woolf's works to suggest an artistic stirring of the unconscious, and the phrase used to describe *Genji* most directly echoes the phrase "a fin rose in the wastes of silence" (*Waves*, 273) in *The Waves* (1931.10), a vision inspired by Shakespeare as imagined by one of the characters Bernard.[16] This link with what is often regarded as the most experimental of her novels suggests that *Genji* resonated with Woolf's aesthetic sensibilities as an ideal type of art that she was aspiring to create. Furthermore, it was undoubtedly this encounter with Waley's translation of *Genji* that led this 20th century English writer with no knowledge of Japanese, to incorporate the early 11th century Japanese author into the imagined canon of women's writing, leading her to give a central position to Murasaki Shikibu in the genealogy of woman writers in her first feminist treatise, *A Room of One's Own* (1929). The 1925 review of *Genji* thus illuminates the making of Woolf's own

[15] Woolf's thoughts on literary translation are also expressed in the essay, "The Russian Point of View" (1925).
[16] Woolf's evocative use of water imagery can be seen across her novels, as well as her essays and short stories such as "The Sun and the Fish" (1928) and "The Fascination of the Pool" (1929).

feminist thinking regarding women and writing that was to fully develop from the latter half of the 1920s onward.

In *A Room of One's Own*, originally delivered as a series of lectures at two women's colleges at Cambridge University, and published in the same year as Ikuta Hanayo's book, Virginia Woolf imagines an alternative lineage of women's literary history that has been obscured by patriarchal institutional forces, by means of empowering women to actively engage in literary production. She recognizes Sappho, Lady Murasaki and Emily Bronte as great writers of the past, who are both "inheritors" and "originators" of women's writing, and in relation to which present women can also become inheritors and originators.[17] By this time, Emily Bronte had surpassed her sister Charlotte in literary fame, overturning the hierarchy that had been solidified by the end of the 19th century as reflected in the reception of Charlotte in *Jogaku zasshi*. As for Lady Murasaki, it is undoubtedly Arthur Waley's translation of the 11th century text that connected the visions of the two feminists in Japan and England at this moment in history. Woolf's encounter with Waley's *Genji* thus plays a key part in her imagining of an alternative genealogy of women's writing that exists independently from male-centered culture, and allows her to encourage women to tap into this "ancient" resource for the possibility for creativity in the present day.

Woolf has been criticized for failing to recognize the rich diversity of women's literary output in Victorian England, choosing to focus instead on their silence and patriarchal oppression. The three women that she privileges – Sappho, Lady Murasaki and Emily Bronte – all have inaccessible, mythical qualities to their persona, whether due to their remoteness in time

[17] "Moreover, if you consider any great figure of the past, like Sappho, like the Lady Murasaki, like Emily Bronte, you will find that she is an inheritor as well as an originator and has come into existence because women have come to have the habit of writing naturally; so that even as a prelude to poetry such activity on your part would be invaluable." (*RO*, 109).

or the obscurity of their lives. Yet, while Woolf's well-quoted phrase "we think back through our mothers if we are women" (*RO*, 76) expresses a naïve utopianism that too easily effaces national and temporal boundaries, Woolf's transnationalism and transhistoricism can be read as a strategic means to break through the patriarchal boundaries of the nation. Woolf's critique of nationhood and empire as embodiments of patriarchal oppression is a theme explored throughout her career, from her novels *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925.5) and *Orlando* (1928.10), to her second feminist treatise *Three Guineas* (1938.6) in which she provocatively writes, "as a woman, I have no country. As a woman I want no country. As a woman my country is the whole world" (*TG*, 109).

Embracing the "Nation" and "Women's Literature"

Echoing Woolf's leap into time and space, Hanayo also creates a global lineage of women writers who merit the status of what she calls "world-scale" (*sekai-teki*). In the preface of her book, Hanayo gives a list of the following Western authors: Sappho (b. 630 B.C.), Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806-61), Christina Rossetti (1830-94), George Sand (1804-76), George Eliot (1819-80), Selma Lagerlöf (1858-1940), Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-96) and Colette (1873-1954). Many of these writers were originally introduced in Iwamoto Yoshiharu's *Jogaku zasshi*, which shows the legacy of the wealth of women's writing that the magazine helped archive for later feminist thinkers.[18] In modern Japan, Higuchi Ichiyô and Yosano Akiko are assessed as "world-scale" writers, preceded by Murasaki Shikibu, Sei Shônagon, and Izumi Shikibu from the late 10th and early 11th centuries. Taking this huge gap in women's literary history as momentum for the creation of new literatures by women in the present, Hanayo calls out to

[18] While Iwamoto's list of Japanese and Western women writers becomes reimagined by Ikuta Hanayo as an alternative women's literary community beyond time and space, the key difference is that Iwamoto's concern primarily lies with female readership, rather than authorship. Because Iwamoto's goal is to guide women to embody a certain vision of ideal womanhood, he is not particularly concerned with the "authentic" expression of the female voice as in the later discourses of Naturalism and the New Woman, but his interest lies rather in the cultivation of an educational voice that nurtures future generations of ideal women.

women to contribute to the realm of world literature as "world-scale" writers. In contrast to Woolf, for whom the transhistorical leap was a means to subvert the patriarchal idea of nationhood, however, Hanayo's leap across time and space is not incongruous with the rhetoric of the nation. For Japan, whose national identity as a modern nation state was constructed vis-à-vis the West, and whose notion of national literature emerged in dialogue with world literature, the national is already implicated in the transnational, and vice versa.

As the title of her book *Kindai Nihon fujin bungei* (Modern Japanese Women's Literature) shows, Hanayo uses the categories of "Japan" and "women's literature" as a means of empowerment for women. While Woolf's critique of patriarchy and ambiguous position towards women's writing lead her to the ideal of androgyny and the political position of the outsider, Hanayo embraces the category of women's writing as a practical and necessary means of constructing a women's community within the male-oriented literary world. She encourages the development of women's writing in cooperation with what she calls "men's literature" (*dansei bungei*), working together towards a common goal of establishing Japan's national literature as "world-scale" in the realm of world literature.

Yet, Hanayo's position is not naïve. In one of the essays included in the book, Hanayo recounts how attractive the idea of "woman writer" (*joryû sakka*) had been in her youth when the category first began to circulate in the media, and how she and her fellow women writers grappled with this identity with seriousness and struggle with the aim to become a mature intellectual, or what she calls a "true" (*shin-no*) woman writer.[19] While the expansion of mass

[19] Ikuta Hanayo, *Kindai Nihon fujin bungei*, pp.89-90. Originally published as "Kakuretaru wakaki joryû sakka" (Young Unknown Women Writers, 1929, *Chûô bungaku*).「それにしても『女流作家』といふ呼名はいかに年若かった私たちの胸の中をおどらせた名でありましたらう、しかも真の女流作家たる事は常に思ひ、常に考へ、絶えず苦しみ、絶えず悩み、疑惑し、否定し、苦作するが故にその感情を複雑にし、十八歳にしてすでに三十歳の婦人に伍して劣らざる心境の老熟に入るを思ふ時、しかく晴れやかな容易な所謂幸福な事ではなかったのであります。」

media and journalism has resulted in the increase of women writers and made it even possible to attain celebrity status with relative ease, Hanayo cautions against this superficial celebrity and calls for a serious attitude towards creating literature that is enduring.[20] This desire for a purer form of literature in the age of mass media and journalism was part of the dominant discourse of the time, and Hanayo presents this as a particularly pressing issue for women. Regarding Murasaki Shikibu and Higuchi Ichiyô as cultural possessions of the nation, Hanayo engages in the practical means of encouraging the literary production of contemporary women writers through the continuing support of women's magazines, most notably *Nyonin geijutsu*, which after the discontinuation of *Seitô* became the premiere forum for women's literature edited by women.

2. Issues of Gender in the Reception of British Modernism

While the feminist visions of the two women converged in the late 1920s, Hanayo had mostly likely not yet encountered Woolf's works at this time. While Woolf was slowly being introduced in Japan in the narrow academic context throughout the 1920s, it was not until the early 1930s that she was fully recognized among the Japanese literati as an important writer of British modernism. Yet, the gendered rhetoric of the reception clearly marked Woolf as a woman writer, making her secondary to the great figure of James Joyce (1882-1941). Joyce's central position in the reception of British modernism was not an isolated phenomenon in Japan, but also in continental Europe. In France, which played a crucial role in the development of British modernism (*Ulysses* was first published in Paris in 1922 after being censored in England) and which avidly embraced London's intellectual scene contemporaneously, Joyce definitively occupied the status of a landmark of modern literature. Other modernist writers such as Woolf

[20] Ibid, pp.67-75. Originally published as "Joryû bungei no shokugyôka" (Professionalization of Women's Writing, 1927, *Fujin*).

were also well received, but often eclipsed by the epic figure of Joyce.[21] Furthermore, it is perhaps telling of France's literary climate that Woolf's *To the Lighthouse* was awarded the prestigious French literary prize Prix Fémina, consisting of an all-female jury, for the best English book in 1928.[22] This prize gives testimony to a shared concern with women's writing that Woolf herself played a major role in, and speaks to the gendered nature of the reception and canonization of British modernism in France. Just as the dominant position of Joyce shaped the reception of Woolf in continental Europe, Joyce emerged as a looming figure in the discourses surrounding new possibilities of writing in 1930s Japan, implicated in a gendered rhetoric that colored Woolf as a female modernist writer.

Itô Sei and James Joyce

The 1920s and early 30s was a period of great tumult in Japanese literature, when the meaning of literature itself was being called into question in the age of mass culture and media. During this turbulent period, Itô Sei (1905-69), one of the most influential Japanese literary critics of the 20th century, emerged as the leading figure to advocate British modernism as a model for a new type of literature that radically departs from the novel of the pervious era. Although Itô's avid enthusiasm for British modernism (particularly Joyce) as a model for new writing in Japan was put into question by critics such as Kobayashi Hideo (1902-83), as seen in his essays "Shinri shôsetsu" (Psychological Novel, 1931.3, *Bungei shunjû*) and "Futatabi shinri shôsetsu ni tsuite" (Another Essay on the Psychological Novel, 1931.5, *Kaizô*), the movement nonetheless came to be a source of inspiration for contemporary writers. Yokomitsu Riichi (1898-1947) and Kawabata Yasunari (1899-1972), two representative writers who formed the

[21] See Mary Ann Caws and Nicola Luckhurst (eds), *The Reception of Virginia Woolf in Europe*, 2002, p.19-20.
[22] Prix Fémina was established by a French women's journal in 1904 (originally called Prix Vie-Heureuse), one year after the establishment of Prix Goncourt, which had an all-male jury. Prix Fémina awarded the best novel published that year eligible to both men and women.

New Sensationist School (*Shinkankaku-ha*), self-consciously imitated the stream-of-consciousness style that they saw in the works of their European contemporaries, and their influence can be seen in short stories such as "Kikai" (Machine, 1930.9) and "Suishô Gensô" (Crystal Fantasies, 1931.1&7). The gendered reception of British modernism in 1930s Japan played an essential role in the formation of Japanese literary modernism.

Itô Sei's promotion of British modernism was part of the larger movement to import various western discourses in the early Showa period. In the inaugural issue of the literary journal *Shin bungaku kenkyû* (New Literary Studies, 1931.1-1932.5), which he edited as a venue to introduce the latest European literature and literary criticism, Itô lays out his theory on the novel in the essay "Atarashiki shôsetsu no shinriteki hôhô" (The Psychological Methods of the New Novel, 1931.1).[23] In this manifesto, Itô claims that the discovery of inner consciousness by the field of psychology has brought forth a crisis in literature, making obsolete what he sees as the one-dimensional narrative of the 19th century. Facing this discovery of a completely new territory of reality, there must be a new type of literature that expresses both outer and inner realities. This crisis is also related to the emergence of cinema, and Itô's idea of the "new novel" attempts to restore the position of literature usurped by cinema as a radically new type of art. While cinema is unable to perfect its own invented method of the "flashback," which he defines as a movement from outer reality to inner psychology, Itô argues that the new type of novel can successfully depict inner realities using the "stream-of-consciousness" method that cinema could not depict due to its technological form. Through this innovative literary method, Itô claims, the new novel of the 20th century is able to "record" (*kiroku-suru*) both outer and inner "images" (*eizô*) as registered by consciousness.

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[23] This essay was retitled as "Hôhô to shite no "ishiki no nagare"" ("The Method of "Stream-of-Consciousness"") when reprinted in his book of collected essays, *Shin shinrishugi bungaku* (New Psychological Literature, 1932).

The writer that achieved this radically new type of art is, Itô declares, James Joyce, whose masterpiece *Ulysses* has already become canonized as a classic of the new kind of literature in both Europe and Japan. Modern critic Kagami Kunihiko locates influential English literature scholar Doi Kôchi as the one who ignited the "Joyce Boom" in Japan.[24] In his influential essay "Joisu no Yurishiizu" (Joyce's *Ulysses*, 1929.2, *Kaizô*),[25] Doi characterizes the work as incorporating a vast range of "new tendencies in literature such as Futurism, Actualism, Autonomism, Expressionism, Dadaism, Interior Imagism, and the Psychoanalytic School" (*Kagami*, 27),[26] and this image of Joyce as the conglomerate of all the new literary movements came to be shared by admirers of Joyce in the following years. Just as Doi predicted *Ulysses* to be a significant work that would become a frame of reference and a starting point for new literatures to come, this essay had great influence on young writers such as Itô Sei, and Joyce came to be avidly introduced in journals such as *Shin bungaku kenkyû* and *Shi to shiron* (Poetry and Poetics, 1928.9-1931.12) in the next several years.

Extending Doi's description of *Ulysses* as the amalgamation of various contemporary literary schools, Itô characterizes Joyce as the summation of the modernist movements across aesthetic genres. Itô argues that Joyce revolutionized literature by creating a pluralistic narrative through the stream-of-consciousness method, allowing him to incorporate new realities of human consciousness. The essay concludes with the following passage:

> Through its pluralistic expression, the new novel implicates poetry as well as acquires a scientific quality. Its structure can be compared with music, and its subject matter with cinema, sharing with it half of reality as absolute territories. The novel of the 20th century

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[24] Kagami Kunihiko, *Jeimuzu Joisu to Nihon no bundan: Showa shoki wo chûshin toshite* (1983).
[25] The essay introduces Joyce, some translated passages of his works, as well as the contemporary reception of *Ulysses* in Europe and North America. The essay is later included in his book *Eibungaku no kankaku* (1935.9).
[26] 「未来派、実感派、主動主義、表現派、ダダ主義、内的写象主義、精神分析派 等の名でよばれてゐる文学の新傾向は皆この一著述の中にある」

> will fundamentally differ from the novel of the 19th century, perhaps surpassing it in its accuracy and multi-colored diversity.[27]

Marking a clear break from the novel of the previous century, Itô associates the "novel of the 20th century" with various new Western technologized artistic genres such as cinema, as well as western music in its full orchestral sense. The attention is drawn to the novel's formal aspect of expression, which is "pluralistic" and "multi-colored." Describing the novel as not only embracing the aesthetic element of poetry but also adopting scientific and technological elements to portray new realities, Itô concludes the essay by calling the 20th century novel a "scientific documentary novel" (*kagaku-teki kiroku shôsetsu*).

This linkage of the novel with science is reflected in Itô's naming of the new school of literature as "new psychological literature" (*Shin shinrishugi bungaku*), whose name reflects the discourse of psychology and psychoanalysis that proliferated in Japan in the first half of the 20th century. Itô's addition of the word "new" is in reaction to the first wave of interest in human psychology in the late 19th century, which prompted Tsubouchi Shôyô to describe the novelist as a "psychologist" (*shinrigaku-sha*) in his famous treatise *Shôsetsu shinzui* (The Essence of the Novel, 1885-86). While Shôyô was referring to scholars such as Joseph Haven (1816-1874), Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), and Alexander Bain (1818–1903), Itô's model for psychology is based on the later theories of Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) and Henri Bergson (1859-1941) that entered the Japanese discourse after the turn of the century. Furthermore, while Shôyô upheld the 19th century European novel as the model for realism, Itô's marks a fundamental break from the previous century to advocate a radically new type of literature that encompasses various artistic genres such as music and cinema.

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[27] *Shin bungaku kenkyû* (1931.1), p.40.「新しき小説はその多元的表現によって詩を包含すると共に科学性を獲得した。それは構成上に於て音楽に比較することが出来ると共に、素材上現実の半分をその絶対的な領域として映画と分つことになった。二十世紀の小説は、多分十九世紀の小説とは根本的に異るであろう。然しながら或はその正確さに於て、多彩さに於て、十九世紀の小説を凌駕するかも知れない。」

This reliance on science as the legitimizing backbone of a new, modern form of literature grew out of the efforts to define the New Sensationism school (*Shinkankaku-ha*) in the 1920s. Literary critic Chiba Kameo (1878-1935), who coined the term New Sensationism in his 1924 essay "Shin kankaku-ha no tanjô" (The Birth of New Sensationism, 1924.11, *Seiki*), locates the element of "knowledge" (*chishiki*) as the basis for New Sensationist writing. This emphasis is reiterated in Yokomitsu Riichi's essay "Kankaku katsudô" (Activity of the Sensations, 1925.2, *Bungei jidai*), this time using the term "intellect" (*gosei*) as that which must filter "sensibility" (*kansei*), differentiating it from what he sees as the more traditional expressions of "sensuality" (*kan'nô*). Yokomitsu, who was the leading writer of this school, argues that New Sensationism is the first and most legitimate attempt to revolt against the dominant school of Japanese Naturalism. Although New Sensationism was initially formed in the 1920s through influences of western avant-garde art such as Dada and Futurism, many of these writers were to align themselves with Itô's formulation of a new type of literature in the 1930s.

In his seminal essay "Shin shinrishugi bungaku" (New Psychological Literature, 1932.3, *Kaizô*), Itô Sei draws from the rhetoric of New Sensationism in stressing the fundamental importance of "intellect" (*chisei*) in the stream-of-consciousness novel. Defending Joyce against those who criticize his overly elaborate style, Itô argues that the stream-of-consciousness style allows for a pluralistic depiction of human consciousness central to the project of representing new territories of reality in the 20th century. The modernist privileging of the "moment" is not a turn away from reality, but a liberation as achieved by French symbolist poetry from which the stream-of-consciousness novel derives.[28] Rejecting critics that reduce modernist writing to being driven by sensibility and lacking in structure, Itô argues that this modernist project in fact

[28] Itô Sei sees Marcel Proust as the first important writer to adopt French symbolism into the novel. The translation of the first volume of Proust's *À La Recherche du Temps Perdu* (Remembrance of Things Past) began appearing in 1929 in the journal *Bungaku* (Literature).

requires a high level of intellect and a critical ability to select key moments that construct the novel in the manner of symphonic music.

The "new novel" for Itô was clearly synonymous with the works of Joyce. While Itô references Dorothy Richardson (1873-1957) and Virginia Woolf as revolutionary modernist writers, they are only mentioned in secondary status to Joyce, the great Anglo-Irish writer. In privileging Joyce, Itô calls attention to their differences in stream-of-consciousness technique, claiming that Molly Bloom's monologue in the final chapter of *Ulysses* is charged with "extreme immediacy to consciousness in reality," whereas Woolf's works are "easily comprehensible, smooth and lucid."[29] While his summation of the two writers seems simplistic and reliant on his obvious preference for Joyce, Itô's recognition of the complexities of stylistic techniques reveals his serious commitment to promote British modernist writing, illuminating the multi-faceted, revolutionary implications of the works. Itô concludes the essay in a prophetic tone, calling forth the coming of the "novel of tomorrow, portraying new human beings with new visions."[30]

As is evident from this essay, Itô Sei considered Joyce to serve as a strategic means to question the state of Japanese literature, and to revolutionize the novel in the modern age. Itô actively promoted the writings of Joyce through numerous critical essays from 1930 onwards, as well as partook in a joint translation of *Ulysses* with Nagamatsu Sadamu and Tsujino Hisanori between September of 1931 and June of 1934 in *Shi / Genjitsu* (Poetry: Reality, 1930.6-31.6).[31]

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[29] *Nihon kindai bungaku hyôron sen: Showa hen*, p.138.「ブルウム夫人の独白のような現実の意識に非常に肉迫したもの（中略）ウルフの諸作品のような、より理解し易いなだらかな 平明なもの」

[30] *Nihon kindai bungaku hyôron sen: Showa hen*, p.144.「新しき視野に於て新しき人間を描く明日の小説」

[31] See Sasaki Tôryû's *Itô Sei kenkyû: Shinshinrishugi bungaku no tenmatsu* for an overview of Itô Sei's writings on James Joyce, p.128-163. Itô Sei's articles on James Joyce include: "Bungaku ryôiki no idô" (1930.6); "Jeimuzu Joisu no metôdo "Ishiki no nagare" ni tsuite" (1930.6); "Bungaku gijutsu no sokudo to chimitsudo" (1930.10); "Atarashiki shôsetsu no shinriteki hôhô" (1931.1); "Purûsuto to Joisu no bungaku hôhô ni tsuite" (1931.4); "Shôsetsu ni okeru jikken" (1931.6); "Shinriteki genjitsu ni tsuite" (1931.6); "Shin shinri shôsetsu wa ikani shite kanô ka" (1931.7); "Joisu no purotto no atsukaikata" (1931.9); "Jiko no ben" (1931.10); "Shôsetsu no shinrisei ni tsuite" (1932.2); "Atarashii shôsetsu to seishin no ryôiki" (1932.2); "Shin shinrishugi bungaku" (1932.3). Many of these articles were included in his book *Shin shinrishugi bungaku* (1932.4).

In fact, there was so much interest in Joyce among the literati that there appeared yet another full translation of the novel between 1932-35, this time led by Morita Sôhei and published by Iwanami Shoten. Morita's Preface to the first volume (1932.2) functions as a manifesto to canonize *Ulysses* as the representative modern novel, presenting the work as a masterpiece of contemporary literature and a model for the "novel of the future":

> The old novel is dead; the new novel must be reborn from its ashes. The novel of the future must be a resilient encyclopedia, fusing subjective and objective realities. The novel of the future must create new stories of consciousness by delving below the surface of existence. The novel of the future must be able to express this magical reality through non-mimetic, revolutionary language. The novel of the future must be a unified whole, built upon the synthesizing mechanism of poetry, drama, cinema, music, and science. If we search for a single work that fulfills these demands in the world today, there is none other than our own *Ulysses* by James Joyce. Rather, it is only after the appearance of this great masterpiece, which eclipses all works of literature past and present, that literary critics around the world began to voice their demands in unison for a new type of literature.[32]

Joyce's *Ulysses* is heralded as the work that changed the face of literature, and that which serves as a model for all literatures to follow. In fact, as the author recognizes, the model for the "novel of the future" derives directly from the description of *Ulysses* itself (encyclopedic volume, stream-of-consciousness technique, mélange of genres, etc), rather than being the result of a collective artistic movement. The accomplishment of *Ulysses* thus simultaneously becomes a modernist goal, which swallows all other efforts into a "unified whole." As a cosmopolite and vagabond, the protagonist of *Ulysses* comes to serve as the representative modern man for the whole humanity.

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[32] Preface to Morita Sôhei, et al, *Yurishiizu* vol.1 (1932), p.1.
「古い小説は死んだ、新しい小説はその灰燼の中から更生しなければならない。未来の小説は主観的並びに客観的リアリティの融合した、弾力性を孕んだエンサイクロピーディアでなければならない。未来の小説は存在の地表下に潜入して意識の新しい物語を創造する小説でなければならない。未来の小説は非模倣的、革命的言語に依ってこの魔術的リアリティを表現したものであらなければならない。未来の小説は詩と劇と映画と音楽と科学のメカニズムの総合の上に打ち樹てられた統一的全體であらなければならない。 かくの如き要求に應ずる文学を現下の世界に 求めるとすれば、わがヂェイムズ・ヂョイスの『ユリシーズ』を外してあるまい。否、この古今を曠しうする大傑作の出現を俟って、世界の批評家が口を揃えて一斉に唱へ始めたのが、新しい文学に対するこれ等の要請である。」

Although Itô Sei and his cohorts were eager to mark a clear break from the writings from the previous epoch and attempted to create a new kind of literature on the universal terms of "science" and "intellect," the discourse of modernism in 1930s Japan is undeniably marked by gender. While Itô distinguishes Virginia Woolf as the most important writer after Joyce, his celebration of her "feminine and splendid fantasy" contains her within the secondary realm of femininity.[33] Morita Sôhei's Preface to the translation of *Ulysses* also clearly employs gender as a standard of judgment in contrasting Joyce with his contemporaries such as Gertrude Stein, Virginia Woolf, and Dorothy Richardson. It is in his masculine qualities that Joyce is distinguished from the women writers: "His qualities lie not in the weak, one-dimensional femininity, but in the strong, polygonal masculinity."[34] Masculinity is further aligned with the multi-layered structure of symphonic music, which becomes presented as a key metaphor for modernist literature in all its complexity, while femininity is rendered inferior as its opposite. While the works of the three women are dismissed as being "experimental for experiment's sake," *Ulysses* is heralded as composing "an all-encompassing synthetic symphony."[35]

Virginia Woolf's Reception in Japan

Despite the tautological dismissal of "femininity" by supporters of new psychological literature, Virginia Woolf emerged as an important writer during this period, and increasingly so as her works encountered new possibilities of interpretation.[36] Woolf was first introduced to the

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[33] *Shin bungaku kenkyû* (1931.1), p.37.「女性的な華美な幻想」

[34] Preface to Morita Sôhei, et al, *Yurishiizu* vol.1 (1932), p.3.「彼の面白さは女性的に軟弱な一曲線ではなくして、男性的に強靭な多角形たる所に存するのである」

[35] Ibid, p.3.「かく一歩一歩地位を固めて来たヂョイスは、遂に『ユリシーズ』に於て全形式の総合交響楽を奏でるに到った。併しヂョイスの小説形式に対する実験は、英米に於ける多くの新人達、例へばガートルード・スタイン女史、ヴァーヂニア・ウルフ女史、ドロシ・リチャードスン女史等のなせるが如き実験のための実験に堕しているやうなものではない。」

[36] I began my research on the reception of Virginia Woolf in Japan by referring to Osawa Minoru's brief outline of Woolf reception from 1929 to the immediate postwar period. Osawa Minoru (ed), *20 seiki eibei bungaku an'nai 10: Vaajinia Urufu* (1966.11), pp.225-229.

Japanese audience by Robert Nichols (1893-1944), a professor of English literature at Tokyo Imperial University from 1921 to 1924, and was subsequently discussed in university lectures and in academic studies of English literature throughout the latter half of the 1920s. Her photograph appeared in the literary arts section of *Yomiuri Shimbun* on October 30th 1928 as "the author of the new novel *Orlando*."[37] By 1930, news had reached England that Woolf had become a topic of academic study in Japan, as recorded in William Plomer's letter to Leonard Woolf in December 1930:

> A Japanese professor, once a "colleague" of mine, writes to me with the news that he is "taking up Virginia Woolf for this term at the university" – the book is *Jacob's Room* and the University is the University of Tokyo. As they used to do a great deal of Stevenson and Barrie, the news is certainly excellent.[38]

While Woolf was first introduced in a narrow academic context, 1931 was the watershed year when many of her works, both fiction and literary criticism, were translated and introduced to the Japanese literary world for the first time. She was avidly discussed both in the academic context and among literary journals of contemporary literature, edited by writers who sought new ways of writing and the most up-to-date literary theory and criticism.

Shi to shiron (Poetry and Poetics, 1928.9-1931.12) and *Shin bungaku kenkyû* (New Literary Studies, 1931.1-1932.5) emerged as two literary journals that became crucial venues in the reception of Woolf. Often sharing the same contributors, these journals sought to introduce the latest literary trends, theories, and criticism from Europe. Beginning with Kuzukawa Atsushi's translation of the "Time Passes" section of *To the Lighthouse* in the November 1930 issue of *Shi to shiron*,[39] followed by the launching of *Shin bungaku kenkyû* in January 1931, both

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[37] *Yomiuri Shimbun* (1928.10.30), p.4.
[38] Quoted from *Virginia Woolf: The Critical Heritage*, edited by Robin Majumdar and Allen McLaurin. (London, Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), pp.24-25.
[39] The "Time Passes" section of *To the Lighthouse* had come out in France in translation before the publication of the novel in England, appearing in December 1926. *Virginia Woolf: The Critical Heritage*, pp.33-35.

journals show great efforts to introduce Woolf's writing to Japan's literary world. While *Shin bungaku kenkyû*, edited by Itô Sei, tended to present Woolf primarily in relation to the much-venerated Joyce, *Shi to shiron* functioned to check this bias and introduced other dimensions of Woolf as well as created a dialogue between the journals by publishing critiques of Itô Sei's project.[40] Through their joint efforts, Woolf became established in Japan as a key component in what made up the new movement of literary modernism, alongside writers such as Joyce, T.S. Eliot, Stein, Richardson, and Aldous Huxley.

Among these writers, what distinguished Woolf was that she was not only an experimental modernist writer, but also a literary theorist and critic. Through a simultaneous introduction of both her fictional works and literary essays, Woolf occupied a unique position in Japan as both an object of study and a critical means by which to discuss the modern novel. On the one hand, Joyce's looming presence resulted in the canonization of *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925.5) as Woolf's most important work as a feminine counterpart to *Ulysses*, overshadowing her other experimental works *To the Lighthouse* (1927.5) or *The Waves* (1931.10) even into the 1930s. On the other hand, Woolf's essays, particularly from the collection *The Common Reader* (1925.4), became seminal texts within the growing number of cotemporary critical studies on the modern novel, and were referenced not only to examine her own experimental writings but also the writings of other modernist writers.[41] Joyce's canonical status can thus be understood as also dependent on Woolf, not only benefiting from her critical study of contemporary literature, but also gaining legitimacy through her secondary position as a female modernist writer who was understood to have followed in his footsteps.

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[40] Kobayashi Hideo's two essays critiquing Itô Sei's new psychological literature project, "Shinri shôsetsu" (1931.3, *Bungei shunjû*) and "Futatabi shinri shôsetsu ni tsuite" (1931.5, *Kaizô*), were reprinted in *Shi to shiron* (1931.6).
[41] Other notable critics on the novel around this time include Edwin Muir, John Carruthers, Gerald Bullett, E.M. Forster, and Elizabeth Drew. Woolf's critical essays appeared as part of this contemporary literary discourse.

***Ulysses* & *Mrs. Dalloway* in Japan**

Woolf's reception in Japan was colored by the gendered nature of Japan's literary world, and this can be witnessed from the initial stages of reception. In Miyajima Shinzaburô's literary survey, *Gendai eikoku bungei inshôki* (Impressions on Contemporary English Literature, 1929.11), published in 1929 and based on his stay in England between 1925 and 1927, Miyajima places women writers in a separate category in his discussion of major contemporary writers in England. Referring to the women as "*joryû sakka*" and "*keishû sakka*," Miyajima remaps the British literary scene in gendered categories that were prevalent in Japan. This initial grouping is quickly dismissed, however, as Miyazaki goes on to follow the contemporary discourse in England, introducing critical works such as Elizabeth Drew's *The Modern Novel: Some Aspects of Contemporary Fiction* (1926) and Gerald Gould's *The English Novel of To-day* (1924). Here, Virginia Woolf is grouped with D.H. Lawrence, James Joyce, and Dorothy Richardson as forming a new school of writing informed by "new psychology" (*atarashii shinrigaku*). The two works *Ulysses* and *Mrs. Dalloway* are singled out as exploring new territories of writing, seeking to represent the "true self" (*hontô no jiga*) that exists in the unconscious, underneath the surface exterior. Miyazaki concludes the study by calling Joyce and Woolf the "vanguard of contemporary literature," in which "machines of modern civilization such as planes, automobiles, cinema, and radio whirl in high speed" (Miyazaki, 302).[42]

As foreshadowed in Miyazaki's study, the canonization of *Mrs. Dalloway* and its pairing with *Ulysses* becomes a recurring phenomena in Woolf's reception. In an introductory essay on Woolf in the inaugural issue of *Shin bungaku kenkyû* (1931.1), Mitani Umekichi clearly articulates the affinity of the two works, characterizing Woolf as the feminine counterpart of

[42] 「これ等の作中には、飛行機、自動車、活動写真、ラヂオ等あらゆる近代文明の機関が高速度に回転し、人が動くのか、物が動くのか、そのけじめさへつかぬやうな、百色眼鏡式の生活が展開されている。蓋しこれ等は現代の文学中最も尖端的なものであらう。」

Joyce. Among her works, *Mrs. Dalloway* is celebrated as the most innovative, precisely because it marks a striking contrast with Joyce's work:

> *Mrs. Dalloway* is her most groundbreaking work, which, along with Joyce's *Ulysses*, gave the novel a new objective. *Mrs. Dalloway*, which is a three hundred page record of a single day, is often discussed as a novelistic experiment in contrast to Joyce's *Ulysses*, which is a seven hundred page record of a single day. Compared to Joyce, whose method is objective and obscure, and whose work is full of ambiguity due to its philosophical weight, Woolf's work is filled with brightness, joviality, and benevolence. Even when she writes of life's struggles, we see a woman's cheerful sensitivity in the background.[43]

This passage shows that *Mrs. Dalloway* is praised as her most definitive work precisely because it serves as a feminine counterpart to Joyce's *Ulysses*. While the work shows a critical narrative stance toward the protagonist Clarissa Dalloway even while following her internal thoughts, the character's "feminine consciousness" (*josei-teki na ishiki*) is here superimposed onto Woolf's own writing. While Woolf is situated as a stream-of-consciousness novelist along with Joyce and Richardson, her writing is distinguished as being more accessible due to the feminine quality produced by a "woman's gentle words" (*josei no yawaraka na kotoba*).

Among the various critical studies that emerged during this period, Edwin Muir's book *Transition: Essays on Contemporary Literature* (1926, Hogarth Press) became an important source for Japanese scholars for the assessment of British modernism.[44] This book included twelve essays on contemporary writers, originally published in *Nation* and *Nation and Athenaeum* where Muir was a regular reviewer. Muir's essay on Woolf gives an overview of her

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[43] Mitani Umekichi, "Vajinia Urufu" (1931.1, *Shin bungaku kenkyû*), p.228.「彼女の最も画期的な作品で、同時にジョイスの「ユリシイズ」と共に新しき小説に一つの大きな目標を興へたものは、「ミセズ・ダロウェイ」である。殊に「ミセズ・ダロウェイ」の三百頁が一日の生活の記録であることは、ジョイスの「ユリシイズ」の七百頁が一日の生活の記録であるのと対比して小説に於ける一つのイクスペリメントとしての効果をよく問題にされる。無論ジョイスがメトオドの客観的な暗黒の内にその作品を書き上げたこと、また思想的な重圧のための晦渋味を多分に持っているのに較べて、ウルフは何といふ明る さ、朗かさ、そして優しさに満ちているか。彼女が生活の苦しさについて書くときすらも、女性の明るい情感がそのバックにあることを我々は知る。」

[44] Edwin Muir (1887-1959) was an influential critic and poet whose first book of poetry *First Poems* was published by the Hogarth Press in 1925. The following quotations are taken from the New York edition published in 1926 by The Viking Press.

oeuvre as a process of maturity, starting from her first novel *The Voyage Out* (1915.3). He locates her collection of short stories *Monday or Tuesday* (1921) as the beginning of Woolf's experimentation with narrative form, which paved the way to her first modernist work, *Jacob's Room* (1922.10). Muir celebrates *Mrs. Dalloway* as her masterpiece, seeing in it "a glow of an indisputable artistic triumph" and claiming that "As a piece of expressive writing there is nothing in contemporary English fiction to rival it" (Muir, 76). In contrast to other modern novelists whose works are characterized by "inhumanity" (such as Joyce and Lawrence), Muir relates Woolf's work to the poetry of Wordsworth, which "records… a moment of serene illumination, a state of soul." He writes, "Mrs. Woolf is not concerned in *Mrs Dalloway* with the character, which is shown in action, in crises (and novels are consequently full of crises), but with the state of being" (Muir, 81).

Muir's essay on Woolf appeard in translation in the same issue of *Shi to shiron* (1931.3) as the first installment of *To the Lighthouse*. His assessment of Woolf's oeuvre as a process of maturation feeds into English literature scholar and translator Andô Ichirô's essay "Vaajinia urufu no kiten" (Virginia Woolf's Point of Origin, 1931.6, *Shi to shiron*), in which he finds the origin of Woolf's later works in her two earliest novels, *The Voyage Out* and *Night and Day*.[45] In the following month, Andô contributes another essay on Woolf in *Shin bungaku kenkyû* as part of his series on contemporary English novelists.[46] Woolf is the second writer to be featured after Joyce. In this essay, Andô discusses Woolf's "transition" (using Muir's term) to a more experimental type of writing in *Monday or Tuesday* and *Jacob's Room*. He locates *Mrs. Dalloway* as her masterpiece, referencing Muir's appraisal of the novel. Quoting what he sees as Woolf's manifesto for modernist aesthetics in her essay "Modern Fiction," Andô praises the

[45] Andô's essay was published in the same issue as the translations of *To the Lighthouse* and "Modern Fiction."
[46] Andô Ichirô, "Gendai eikoku sakka to sono gihô: II. Vajinia Urufu" (Contemporary British Writers and Their Techniques: II. Virginia Woolf, 1931.7, *Shin bungaku kenkyû*).

novel for its innovative way of representing character, particularly in depicting a woman's interior life:

> Here, one sees Woolf tracing the footsteps of Joyce's *Ulysses*. Woolf chose to depict a single day of the wife of a Member of Parliament named Clarissa, a fifty-two year old woman with delicate sensitivity. Lamenting that great writers of the past have been unable to truly depict a woman's life, instead permeating it with emotions that are inexplicable to them, Woolf thoroughly pushed forward in this novel the breadth and depth of a woman's psychology.[47]

While her work is deemed valuable in representing a woman's experience, Woolf is portrayed as a follower of Joyce, only with a much narrower scope.[48] In another essay that appeared in the same month in *Eibungaku kenkyû* (Studies in English Literature), Andô rearticulates this idea of privileged access to women's experience, praising *Mrs. Dalloway* for attempting to depict a "true world of women" (*shinjitsu na josei no sekai*) through its female heroine.[49]

Woolf, as Literary Critic

While *Mrs. Dalloway* became canonized as Woolf's most representative work within the context of the Joyce boom, there were simultaneous efforts to introduce and translate other works by Woolf. Alongside Takiguchi Naotarô's partial translation of *Mrs. Dalloway* in *Shin bungaku kenkyû* (1931.1,4,7,10), Kuzukawa Atsushi's translation of the third section of *To the Lighthouse* ("The Lighthouse") was serialized in *Shi to shiron* (1931.3,6,9,12) in addition to several short stories.[50] While most of the translations and scholarship surrounding Woolf were undertaken by male writers and scholars, there was one female writer that played a role in

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[47] *Shin bungaku kenkyû* (1931.7), p.146.
「ここにヂョイスの「ユリシィズ」が踏んでいった足跡を辿ることが出来る、ウゥルフはクラリーサといふ代議士夫人で、繊細は感受性を備へた五十二歳になる女性が過ごす一日を題材にした。これまで の大家たちは女性にとって理解出来ない情緒許りへ滲透して、真実の女性の世界を再現していないことを嘆ずるウゥルフが、この作品で徹頭徹尾女性の心理に広さと深度を押し進めたのである。」

[48] *Shin bungaku kenkyû* (1931.7), p.145.「ヂョイスの「ユリシィズ」みたいに、複雑の極致にひろがった面積はもたない。彼女の地図はもっと限界が狭い」

[49] Andô Ichirô, "Vaajinia Urufu no naimen byôsha" (Psychological Depiction by Virginia Woolf, 1931.7, *Shin bungaku kenkyû*), p.411.

[50] Translations of Woolf's short stories include "Slater's Pints Have No Points" by Kuzukawa Atsushi (1931.1, *Shi to shiron*), "A Haunted House" by Sagawa Chika (1931.4, *Konnichi no shi*), "Kew Gardens" by Miyanaga Hideo (1931.10, *Shin bungaku kenkyû*), and "The String Quartet" by Kuzukawa Atsushi (1932.5, *Shin bungaku kenkyû*).

Woolf's reception. This was the avant-garde poet Sagawa Chika (1911-36), who translated Woolf's essay "How It Strikes a Contemporary" (1931.4,7,10, *Shin bungaku kenkyû*) and the short story "A Haunted House" (1931.4, *Konnichi no shi*).[51] Among the various translations, what gained most attention were Woolf's literary theory and criticism. Her essays such as "Modern Fiction," "How It Strikes a Contemporary," and "Mr Bennett and Mrs Brown,"[52] three works often taken to be her modernist manifestos, appear alongside works by Japanese scholars on the possibilities of the modern novel, creating a conversation on the pages of the literary journals between contemporaries across the globe. These essays reveal Woolf's concern with modern literature both as a writer and critic, showing an intense awareness of a break with the past, and reflecting on the shifting role of the literary critic in the modern age.

Among the essays, "Modern Fiction," originally published in 1919 and revised for her first collection of essays *The Common Reader* (1925.4), emerges as Woolf's representative literary manifesto, appearing simultaneously in two separate journals by different translators in January 1931, the watershed year for Woolf's reception in Japan. One translation appeared in the inaugural issue of *Shin bungaku kenkyû* (1931.1) by German literature scholar Sakamoto Etsurô, alongside the opening chapters of *Mrs. Dalloway*. The editor's note in the following issue interestingly notes that because they were unable to obtain the original *The Common Reader* (in

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[51] Sagawa Chika had come to know Itô Sei through her brother Noboru, who went to school together in Otaru, Hokkaidô. Noboru moved to Tokyo in 1923, Chika followed in 1928 at the age of 17. The following year, Chika began publishing translations for the newly founded coterie journal *Bungei rebyû* (Literary Review, 1929.3-1931.1), co-founded by Itô Sei, her brother Kawasaki Noboru and Kawahara Naoichirô. While *Shinbungaku kenkyû* gives Chika the opportunity to translate a variety of literary essays, her translations of Woolf's works never became the authoritative version, as both were retranslated by better known male academics in the authoritative volumes of Woolf's short stories and literary criticism, published by *Shin bungaku kenkyû* in 1932 and 1933. In addition to her own poetry published in avant-garde journals, Chika translated many works of European and American poetry including James Joyce's *Chamber Music* (1907) and other works by Harry Crosby, Charles Reznikoff, Bravig Imbs, Mina Loy, David Cornel Dejong, Howard Weeks, and Ralph Cheever Dunning.

[52] "Modern Fiction" was first published as "Modern Novels" in *Times Literary Supplement* (1919.4.10). "How It Strikes a Contemporary" was first published in *TLS* (1923.4.5). Both are slightly revised from the original publication when included in *The Common Reader* (1925.4). "Mr Bennett and Mrs Brown" was first published in *Nation & Athenaeum* (1923.12.1), later revised and published through Hogarth Press (1924.10).

which "Modern Fiction" is included) in time for the inaugural publication, they were obliged to use the German translation that was in the translator's possession as the source text.[53] The circuitous route in which the essay appeared shows the enthusiasm and confusion with which Woolf was first welcomed into the Japanese literary scene, as well as her central position as both a novelist and a literary critic within British modernism.

The other was an annotated translation of "Modern Fiction" in *Eigo seinen* (The Rising Generation, 1898.4-) by English literature scholar Sawamura Torajirô, who presented an array of Woolf's works to the Japanese audience from 1930 onwards. Published in four installments in January and February 1931, Sawamura not only translated the essay but also gave grammatical explanations, helping the Japanese reader understand the work line by line. In his other essays on Woolf published around the same time, Sawamura uses Woolf's theory in "Modern Fiction" to analyze her fictional works such as *Mrs. Dalloway*, *A Room of One's Own*, *Orlando*, and *To the Lighthouse*. Writing mostly in journals of English language study such as *Eigo seinen* and *Eigo kenkyû* (The Study of English), Sawamura introduces a variety of Woolf's writings with a pedagogical tone, focusing on plot summary, translation, and explanations of her complex prose and the stream-of-consciousness narrative style. These initial efforts by Sawamura laid the grounds for later receptions of Woolf. Furthermore, Sawamura's translation of "Modern Fiction" from the original English text was reprinted in *Shi to shiron* (1931.6), as if to revise the version in the inaugural issue of *Shin bungaku kenkyû*.

The reason why "Modern Fiction" gained so much attention in Japan's context may once again have to do with the canonical status of Joyce. While Sakamoto's translation from the German did not become the authoritative version, it reveals the interest it may have held for the

[53] Sakamoto's translation of "Modern Fiction" was taken from the German translation by Hans Wagenseil (1894-1975), whose translations include Vita Sackville-West's *Pepita* and *All Passion Spent*.

editors of *Shin bungaku kenkyû* in the highlighted words and phrases within the text. Almost all of the highlighted phrases are passages related to Joyce, pointing once again to his central position within the journal's mission. In the following passage, Woolf characterizes the novelistic experiments conducted by a young generation of writers, distinguishing Joyce as the most notable example:

> They attempt to come closer to life, and to preserve more sincerely and exactly what interests and moves them, even if to do so they must discard most of the conventions which are commonly observed by the novelist. Let us record the atoms as they fall upon the mind in the order in which they fall, let us trace the pattern, however disconnected and incoherent in appearance, which each sight or incident scores upon the consciousness… Any one who has read *The Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* or, what promises to be a far more interesting work, *Ulysses*, now appearing in the *Little Review*, will have hazarded some theory of this nature as to Mr Joyce's intention.[54]

In this passage, Woolf legitimizes Joyce's project as the forefront of modernist experimentation. Claiming that what interests modern writers are the "dark places of psychology," Woolf characterizes Joyce as "spiritual" in contrast to the "materialists" whom she criticizes at the beginning of the essay, exemplified by the writers H.G. Wells, Arnold Bennett, and John Galsworthy.

While Woolf writes from the position of both the writer and the reader, this framework of Woolf as critic and Joyce as artist is articulated in Edwin Muir's aforementioned essay in *Transition*, in which he praises Woolf's capacity as a literary critic as seen in *The Common Reader*, a critical spirit that he claims is completely lacking in Joyce. While Woolf has "the good sense and sagacity of the English prose tradition," Muir writes, Joyce has "a powerful, erratic intellect… of the artist."[55] This distinction is further perpetuated in Japan's context, when

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[54] Virginia Woolf, "Modern Fiction," *The Common Reader*, p.150-1.

[55] "The quality of intelligence Mrs. Woolf has in a high degree… the only contemporary novelist, besides Mrs. Woolf, who has it in a striking degree is Mr. E.M. Forster. Mr. Joyce lacks it completely. He has a powerful, erratic intellect, but it is the differentiated intellect of the artist; it is hardly concerned at all with what is normal, expedient, practicable, but simply with what is, whether it should be humanly possible or impossible." (Muir, 70-71)

selected essays from Muir's *Transition* was published in a single volume as part of *Shin bungaku kenkyû*'s special series under the title *Katoki no bungaku* (Literature in Transition, 1933.5). While the chapters on Joyce, Lawrence, Huxley, and Eliot are translated in full, Woolf's chapter is edited out, revealing the process of canonization in which certain writers become left out.[56] Instead, Muir's final chapter "Contemporary Fiction," which begins with a quote from Woolf's essay "How It Strikes a Contemporary," is brought forward to the beginning of the translated volume, serving as a theoretical preface to the discussion of the works by other writers. In fact, this chapter shows that Muir's central idea of "transition," as reflected in the title, is derived from Woolf's analysis of the contemporary era as the "age of fragments."[57] Introduced as the author of *The Common Reader*, Woolf is presented as an important literary critic, overshadowing her image as a modernist fiction writer.

Out of the *Shin bungaku kenkyû* series, which contained twelve volumes of literary criticism and four volumes of fiction, Woolf and Lawrence were the only writers who had two volumes, both in each category.[58] The volume of Woolf's collection of short stories (1932.11), translated by Kuzukawa Atsushi, includes most of her short stories from *Monday or Tuesday* and two later works.[59] The second volume of her collection of literary essays, translated by Muraoka

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[56] The original table of contents of Muir's book are as follows: Preface, I. Introductory: The Zeit Geist, II. James Joyce, III. D.H. Lawrence, IV. Virginia Woolf, V. Stephen Hudson, VI. Aldous Huxley, VII. Lytton Strachey, VIII. T.S. Eliot, IX. Edith Sitwell, X. Robert Graves, XI. Contemporary Poetry, XII. Contemporary Fiction.
[57] Virginia Woolf, *The Common Reader*, p. 234.
[58] Other writers featured in the series include Marcel Proust, Henri Massis, Edmond Jaloux, Carl Henry Grabo, T.E. Hulme, Wyndham Lewis, Ezra Pound, Edwin Muir, Paul Valry, James Joyce, and Aldous Huxley.
[59] "Slater's Pins Have No Points" and "Time Passes" (second section from *To the Lighthouse*) are included additionally, both of which had already been published in *Shi to shiron* by Kuzukawa. "A Haunted House" and "Kew Gardens" are retranslations; Sagawa Chika originally translated "A Haunted House" in *Konnichi no shi* (1931.4), and Miyanaga Hideo originally translated "Kew Gardens" in *Shin bungaku kenkyû* (1931.10).

Tatsuji (1933.2), includes a selection from *The Common Reader* beginning with "Modern Fiction."[60] Muraoka's preface calls attention to Woolf's ambiguous position as a woman writer.

> In contemporary English novels, Woolf occupies the position as the only woman writer. Woolf's position is similar to those of the Bronte sisters, Jane Austen, and George Eliot, who, at one point in the history of English novels, achieved a unique literary status as women writers. While the label of woman writer arouses in the reader's mind a certain handicap even before opening their works, the essays collected here are impressive and can be read without handicap of any sort.[61]

While this passage praises Woolf's exceptional quality, it also reveals the secondary status of women writers within the literary world. Woolf, the Bronte sisters, Jane Austen, and George Eliot are all seen as exceptions, in the light of which other women writers are obscured.

Orlando: A Biography **and New Psychology**

As I have shown through my analysis of literary and academic journals, Woolf was celebrated as a high-modernist writer and critic with a new-psychologist approach in early 1930s Japan. In contrast to journals such as *Shi to shiron* or *Shin bungaku kenkyû*, which tended to privilege the high-modernist pieces that resonated with Woolf's theoretical essays focusing on stylistic innovation, the first full translation of Woolf's work to be published in book form was *Orlando: A Biography* (1928.10), a farcical book which Woolf described in her diary as "a writer's holiday."[62] Oda Masanobu's translation of *Orlando* came out in July 1931 at the height of the enthusiasm for Woolf reception, alongside the serialization of *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925.5, *Shin bungaku kenkyû*) and *To the Lighthouse* (1927.5, *Shi to shiron*). Although the book's huge

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[60] The essays included are in order: "Modern Fiction," "How It Strikes a Contemporary," "The Russian Point of View," "Joseph Conrad," ""Jane Eyre" and "Wuthering Heights"," and "Modern Essay." In addition to "Modern Fiction," "How It Strikes a Contemporary" is a retranslation, originally translated by Sagawa Chika in *Shin bungaku kenkyû* (1931.4,7,10).

[61] Muraoka Tatsuji (tr), *Urufu bungakuron* (1933.2), p.1-2.「ウルフは現代のイギリス小説界に於ては、唯一の女流作家として重きをなしている一存在である。彼女は恐らく、ブロンテ姉妹が、ヂェン・オースチンが、G・エリオットが、イギリス小説史の過去のある一時期に於て、女流作家として成し遂げた特殊な文学的功績を、現になし遂げつつあるのである。女流作家といふものは読まぬ前にある種のハンディキャップを読者の脳裏に呼び起させるのであるが、ここに集めた各エッセイなどは、何等のハンディキャップなしに読まれ得る立派なものであると思ふ。」

[62] Virginia Woolf, *Diary III*, 18 March 1928.

success and strong sales marked a turning point in Woolf's career, the work was certainly not considered to be her best work at the time in Europe nor in Japan. The interest surrounding this work had less to do with stylistic experiment, but with new ideas surrounding gender and sexuality that were an integral part of the late 19th century discourse on sexology that eventually developed into the field of psychoanalysis in the early 20th century.[63]

In the Preface to the translation, Oda clarifies why he chose to translate *Orlando* over any other work. Pointing to the recent efforts to introduce and understand Woolf's works in literary journals, Oda attempts to disassociate the writer from the discourses centered around Joyce, shedding light instead on her uniqueness that he believes is best witnessed in *Orlando*. Summarizing "How It Strikes a Contemporary" and "Modern Fiction," Oda rearticulates the standard assessment on Woolf as having furthered Joyce's project of going beyond human actions to portray an interior life using the stream-of-consciousness style. While Oda acknowledges *Mrs. Dalloway* and *To the Lighthouse* as great works of poetic prose that follow Joyce's footsteps, he argues that *Orlando*'s originality lies in shifting from the level of the individual to a larger scope of humanity.

Rather than condensing a whole lifetime into a single day, as *Ulysses* and *Mrs. Dalloway* do, *Orlando* expands a single individual's lifetime across several centuries, even changing the protagonist's sex from man to woman. Quoting Edwin Muir's claim in *Transition* that modern literature is characterized by "inhumanity," Oda characterizes Woolf as attempting to reach a larger scope of humanity and human history, a move that he sees is absent in Joyce.

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[63] English literature scholar and critic Hasegawa Tenkei first discussed *Orlando* in his book-length study *Bungei to shinri bunseki* (Literary Arts and Psyche-Analysis, 1930.9). Sawamura Torajirô continued this discussion in an essay titled "Orurandô to sei ishiki" (Orlando and Sexual Consciousness, 1930.10, *Eigo kenkyû*). Both works discuss *Orlando* in light of Freudian psychoanalysis and the issue of sexual desire that had become central concerns in modern literature.

> The male writer James Joyce stood on the ground of freedom and carried out an exhaustive analysis of the self. The woman writer Virginia Woolf began with an exploration of the self, then pursued a historical development of the soul in *Orlando*. It is not surprising that she directed her analysis to tradition, which is the greatest source of oppression for women. In recent times, a number of women writers have begun to examine and criticize what has been a male-oriented civilization. This, I believe, is the reason why modern England has produced so many women writers.[64]

In contrast to Joyce, who remains on the realm of the individual, Oda sees Woolf as a feminist writer speaking for the common fate of women. Although Oda's reading of Joyce is cursory, it is interesting to see the critic disassociating Woolf from Joyce in her concern with gender politics. Referring to *A Room of One's Own*, Oda gives a feminist reading of *Orlando* as a struggle of a woman writer under patriarchal tradition. This passage shows not only Oda's concern with feminist politics, but also his recognition of the existence of women writers as a phenomenon in modern England.

Oda portrays Woolf herself as someone who emerges from the English literary tradition, while attempting to overcome it and reach new ground. Oda calls attention to *Orlando*'s experimentation in genre, calling the work an "unprecedented prose art form" that is neither a novel nor biography.[65] Its mixture of literary styles, as well as the parodic use of preface, index, and photographs throughout the book, manipulate the reader's expectations in encountering the book as a "biography." What lies at the heart of the experiment, however, is Woolf's idea of the fluidity of gender (expressed as a "sex/gender change" (*tensei*) and "androgyny" (*ryôsei*)) that is essential to her feminist ideas on time and history. The postmodern collage of genres and the critical stance toward gender as a performance that Woolf raises in *Orlando* and beyond had to

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[64] Oda's Preface to *Orlando*, p.17.「男性作家ジェイムズ・ジョイスは、自由の境地に立って、徹底的に自我分析を遂行したのである。女性作家ヴァージニア・ウルフは、先ず自我の探求から出発して、魂の史的発展を「オーランド」に於て求めた。女性に取って最大の重圧である伝統へ分析を向けたのは、当然の試練である。余りにも男性本意であった在来の文明は、今幾多の女性作家によって考察批判されつつある。私は近代英国に女流作家の輩出した原因を、此処に見出し得ると信じるのである。」

[65] Ibid, p.1.「「オーランド」とは、実に小説でもなければ所謂伝記とも異なる、破格の散文芸術様式であると言ふ可きだ」

wait until the 1980s to be critically assessed, particularly after Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990) gave rise to the field of gender studies.

In this chapter, I have examined the issues of gender surrounding the growing notions of world literature in 1920s Japan, the shared feminist imagining of an alternative literary history in Japan and England, and the reception of contemporary Western works that shaped Japanese literary modernism in the 1930s. Virginia Woolf is a key figure in this examination as an active agent in the production of literary works, a consumer of translations such as *The Tale of Genji* that have entered the realm of world literature, and one who is herself translated and incorporated into the gendered rhetoric of Japanese literary modernism. The important issues of gender, canonization, and literary history that emerge from this examination become central to the writer I will examine in the next chapter, Osaki Midori (1896-1971). By tracing her development as a writer and evolving relationships with the community of women writers, I will show how Midori, like Woolf, fundamentally questions, parodies, and deconstructs the notions of gender that make her an important feminist thinker before her time.

Chapter Four

Gender, Genre, and Global Imagination:

The Modernist Writings of Osaki Midori

This final chapter focuses on the important yet understudied female modernist writer Osaki Midori (1896-1971). While the 1920s and 30s were a prolific time for women writers in Japan, Midori has been overlooked in the standard literary narrative as she neither had a place among the bourgeois feminist writers, nor the politically-charged proletarian and Marxist writers.[1] It was not until the 1960s that she was rediscovered by the influential avant-garde critic Hanada Kiyoteru (1909-74), and has slowly gained recognition within academia and among the general readership in Japan as an important modernist writer.[2] Recent critics in Japan in the past decade have shed light on her work as engaging with contemporary discourses such as schoolgirl *shôjo* culture, popular discourses of psychology, and the new medium of film.[3] While she is

[1] Notable bourgeois feminist writers include Miyamoto Yuriko (1899-1951) and Nogami Yaeko (1885-1985), and notable proletarian and Marxist writers include Hirabayashi Taiko (1905-72) and Hayashi Fumiko (1903-51).

[2] Hanada Kiyoteru discussed Osaki Midori in the afterward to *Abe Kôbô shû* (Collected Works of Abe Kôbô, 1960.12), which was the second volume of the Chikuma Shobô series *Shin'ei bungaku sôsho* (Library of the Literary Avant-Garde). This essay was reprinted in Hanada's collection of essays *Chibu no shisô* (Philosophy of Private Parts, 1965.8). Hanada was instrumental in the reprinting of Midori's novella *Dainana kankai hôkô* in 1969 in the sixth volume of the Gakugei Shorin anthology series *Zenshû: Gendai bungaku no hakken* (Anthology: Discovering Contemporary Literature), edited by Hanada, Ooka Shôhei, Hirano Ken, Sasaki Kiichi and Haniya Yutaka. The volume was titled *Kuroi yûmoa* (Black Humor, 1969.1), and the novella was reprinted alongside works by authors including Uchida Hyakken, Ishikawa Jun, Ibuse Masuji, Takeda Taijun, Abe Kôbô, Sakaguchi Ango, and Nosaka Akiyuki. This led to the publication of a book of collected stories by Bara Jûjisha in 1971 titled *Appurupai no gogo: Osaki Midori sakuhinshû* (Apple Pie Afternoon: Collected Works of Osaki Midori, 1971.11), featuring *Dainana kankai hôkô*, "Hokô," "Chikashitsu Anton no ichiya," "Appurupai no gogo," "Nioi – Shikôchô no ni-san pêji," "Sasaguru kotoba – Shikôchô no ni-san pêji," and "Mokusei." In November 1973, the literary journal *Idein* featured Midori in a special issue, reprinting three of her works "Hokô," "Morella," and "Eiga mansô," as well as including three new critical essays on her works. Literary critic Inagaki Masami was instrumental in putting together the special issue, and Inagaki eventually edited the first anthology of Midori's works *Osaki Midori zenshû* (1979.12, Sôjusha). A revised and extended version of the anthology came out in two volumes in 1998.

[3] Kawasaki Kenko, *Osaki Midori: Sakyû no kanata e* (2010); Hideyama Yôko, Osaki *Midori e no tabi: Hon to zasshi no meiro no naka de* (2009); Iida Yûko, "Yûho suru shôjo tachi: Osaki Midori to furanûru" (2009); Tsukamoto Yasuyo, *Osaki Midori ron: Osaki Midori no senryaku to shite no 'imôto' ni tsuite* (2006); Mizuta Noriko,

slowly gaining interest in the North American academia, there has been very little scholarship in English to date, and only three of her short stories have been translated into English.[4]

In this chapter, I trace Osaki Midori's development from writing within the rhetoric of Naturalism at the start of her career, to her later unique modernist style achieved by taking on a self-conscious anti-Naturalist stance that resists the autobiographical mode of reading. I also examine her position within the vibrant community of women writers, particularly through her connection to *Nyonin geijutsu* (Women's Arts, 1928.7-1932.7), and her strategic outsider's position through her involvement with avant-garde journals. There is a certain myth surrounding Midori that she was a short-lived, solitary modernist writer who lived in extreme poverty, a myth that was perpetuated by her own writing. This outsider status was in fact a self-conscious pose, as Midori lived in a vibrant community of avant-garde artists and writers in Kami-Ochiai, and published in coterie women's journals and avant-garde journals through these connections. Midori's writing projected an image of herself as an artist on the periphery of social and literary life, and this self-conscious aesthetic pose of detachment from commercialism and the dominant literary world was central to her feminist and modernist thinking.

1. Naturalism and Midori's Early Years

Early Works in *Bunshô sekai*: 1914-1916

After graduating from Tottori Prefecture Women's Secondary School (Tottori Kenritsu Jogakkô) in 1914, Midori moved to a small fishing village called Ajiro in her early twenties to

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Osaki Midori: Dainana kankai hôkô *no sekai* (2005); Terada Sô, *Toshi bungaku to shôjo tachi: Osaki Midori, Kaneko Misuzu, Hayashi Fumiko o aruku* (2004), Takahara Eiri, "Shôjo no tsukuru shôuchû: Osaki Midori *Dainana kankai hôkô*" (1999).

[4] The three existing English translations are Seiji Lippit's "Shoes Fit for a Poet" and "Miss Cricket," and Miriam Silverberg's "Osmanthus." See Livia Monnet's study of Osaki Midori in relation to film: "Montage, Cinematic Subjectivity and Feminism in Ozaki Midori's *Drifting in the World of the Seventh Sense*" (1999), "The Automatic Shôjo: Cinema and the Comic in the Work Ozaki Midori" (1990).

work as a schoolteacher at a local elementary school. It was from Ajiro that Midori began her literary aspirations by submitting short apprentice pieces to the Tokyo-based literary journal *Bunshô sekai* (World of Writing, 1906.3-1920.12), founded by Hakubunkan in 1906 with Tayama Katai as the editor-in-chief.[5] *Bunshô sekai* was a submission-based journal with the objective to teach practical writing to youths, and played an important role in opening up the opportunity for its readings to become professional writers. Many aspiring writers started their career through this journal, and the journal developed into one of the major venue for Japanese Naturalism.

Midori's works in this initial stage of her career are marked with a sentimental lyricism that is abundant in sea and nature imagery of the Tottori landscape, which becomes a backdrop of self-reflection and introspection. The series of titles published in the journal gives evidence to these characteristics: "Gyoson no shinseikatsu yori" (A Sketch from a New Life in the Fishing Village, 1914.11), "Asa" (Morning, 1914.12), "Asa" (Morning, 1915.3), "Yuki no tayori" (Tidings of Snow, 1915.3), "Kusa ni suwarite" (Sitting on Grass, 1915.4), "Fuyu ni wakarete" (Parting in Winter, 1915.6), "Mame batake kara" (From the Field of Beans, 1915.6), "Yoi" (Evening, 1915.9), "Hiru no sabishisa" (Afternoon Solitude, 1915.11), "Yoi no tayori" (Tidings of Evening, 1915.12), "Umi yuku kokoro" (Heart Longing for the Sea, 1916.2), and "Kanashimi wo motomeru kokoro" (Heart Longing for Sorrow, 1916.3). The romantic theme of solitude and melancholy beauty runs through these works, reiterated again and again in various renditions: "I sat facing the ocean… I was the only one upon this earth who was breathing" (*OMZ*1, 28); "The beauty of silence continued to envelop me" (*OMZ*1, 30); "Though I was lonely, I was happy to be alone in the beauty" (*OMZ*1, 32); "Awakening from the sleep that came to me in the midst of

[5] See Kôno Kensuke's chapter "*Chûgaku sekai* kara *Bunshô sekai* e" in *Tôki to shite no bungaku* (2003).

solitude, I found a beautiful morning that had revived after the long rain" (*OMZ*1, 35).[6] Through this collection of short pieces published in *Bunshô sekai*, all written in the first person, Midori evokes a romantic artist figure at one with and inspired by the natural landscape, which is cyclical, eternal, and benevolent.

This artist figure is not simply settled in her immediate local environment but also takes inspiration from foreign literatures, as seen in "Umi yuku kokoro" (Heart Longing for the Sea, 1916.2), where Midori seeks out her own position as a young aspiring woman writer. With the backdrop of the winter ocean and wave imagery, the narrator ponders her own life in comparison to the famous New Woman heroines such as Elena from Turgenev's *On the Eve* (1859) and Nora from Ibsen's *A Doll's House* (1879). These heroines from Western literature allow her to dream of something beyond her immediate surroundings of Tottori. Yet, she embraces the fate of Elena and Nora not with naïve joy, but with a critical distance. Seeing the various roads that women have trodden before her, she vows to pave her own fresh path rather than to follow those that have already been made. This sentimental lyrical piece shows Midori's recognition of New Woman heroines as important literary legacies, translated and introduced in Japan in the early half of the decade, even while distancing herself and resolving to create her own path as a solitary artist.

Young Midori's struggle and determination to become a writer are also expressed in "Kanashimi wo motomeru kokoro" (Heart Longing for Sorrow, 1916.3), one of the last of the prose pieces published in *Bunshô sekai*. Here, Midori moves towards an abstract meditation on the notion of death, and a rumination on "sorrow" (*kanashimi*) as the universal mode of human experience. Reflecting upon the direct experience of her father's death seven years before, she realizes that the intense grief felt upon his death was only a reaction towards the immediate death

[6] *Osaki Midori zenshû* (1998), vol.1. Abbreviated as *OMZ*1.

at hand, rather than an understanding of the universal nature of death. Desiring a profound understanding of sorrow that goes beyond individual experience, she poses the question: "Isn't it in sorrow that the true form of life is enveloped?" (*OMZ*1, 55).[7] With this belief, she expresses the desire to be perpetually connected to the sorrow of death, as a way of discovering her own path as a writer. She writes with resolution: "The glimmer of life that comes after mourning for death. To attain this, I must continue to move forward one step at a time."[8]

At the same time that her apprentice works are marked with eager sincerity and a sense of pathos, Midori also explores a depiction of sensuality that unexpectedly aligns her works with those of Tamura Toshiko, who was still writing prolifically in major venues including *Bunshô sekai*.[9] Though Midori's works seem to be a wide departure from Toshiko's sensual writing that often depict complex love affairs between a man and a woman, "Kanashimi no koro" (Time of Sorrow, 1916.2, *Warera*[10]) shows a similar kind of attention to sensual pleasure that resonates with Toshiko's style:

> If only this dream did not have to end. As the sound of the bells that quietly floated at the bottom of her mind slowly spread in the morning room, she opened her eyes, her mind still hazy. The warmth of last night's bath remained on her skin. The unlined kimono and futon blanket that clung onto her body gave such agreeable warmth that her heart felt drowsy in this early morning hour. As the bells trailed off in a faint note, Haruji closed her eyes wishing to wander once more in the dream that had just faded away.
> The *shoji* paper is colored by the early morning light that floated soundlessly from the crack of the door, the faint pale blue like a trace of milk casting a morning shadow onto her lightly closed eyes to her heart. Haruji felt this morning that she wanted hold on to that shadow forever, immersed in the tender comfort of the bygone dream.[11] (*OMZ*1, 40)

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[7] 「そのかなしみの中に偽りのない人生のすがたが包まれているのではあるまいか」
[8] 「死を悲しむ後に見出だす生のかがやき。それを得ようと私は一歩ごとの歩みをつづけて行かなければならない。」
[9] Tamura Toshiko was a regular contributor for *Bunshô sekai* at this time, publishing works such as "Kuwa no mi no yûwaku" (Seduction of the Mulberry Fruit, 1914.9) and "Eiga" (Glory, 1916.1).
[10] Tottori-based literary journal.
[11] 「この夢がいつまでもさめなければ好かった。今、心の底に静かに流れてきた鐘の音が朝の部屋にゆるやかにひろがってくると、それとしっかり分らない心持ちに彼女は眼をひらいた、昨夜の湯のあたたかさがまだ肌に残っていた。そして彼女のからだにまつはっているひとえや蒲団もこころよい暖さに、

This opening passage resembles the opening of Toshiko's "Ikichi" (Raw Blood, 1911.9, *Seitô*), where the protagonist sleepily dwells upon her sexual encounter from the previous night the next morning. Yet, Midori's depiction of physical sensations is not an exploration of female sexuality, but rather points to an interest in psychology. This becomes apparent in works such as "Nezame" (Awakening, 1916.2) and "Kasui no koro" (A Nap, 1916.3), which explore the intimate state of mind between sleeping and waking. Here is "Kasui no koro" in full:

> I was lying down, leaning on my right elbow and resting my head on my fingertips. Sweltering warmth crept from the tip of my foot upon my entire body. With my eyes half closed, I continued telling a story. With each passage, my young cousin's soft voice responding to mine begins to sound drowsy. The story continued for a long time, the one I had read as a child. My voice became softer and softer, and the sound of the waves began to infiltrate my mind. My cousin began to make a soft breathing sound, his cheeks resting on both hands.
> I tried to move my feet underneath the *kotatsu*, but could not. Only the fingertips of my right hand touching my cool hair remained vividly in my mind. (*OMZ*1, 53)[12]

In this short piece, Midori depicts a drowsy dream-like state, focusing on the contrasting sensations between the sweltering heat of the body and the cool hair upon her fingertips. Oceanic imagery seeps into this state of waking and dreaming, mixing the present with stories from childhood. This concern for in-between states of consciousness, explored in these early essays, is an important theme that Midori develops in her later works.

あけがたの彼女の心をうっとりとさせる。細い余韻のうちに鐘の音が終ると春路はよこたはったまま今しがた消えた夢のうちをもう一度さまよって見たいと眼をとぢた。
戸のすきまから音もなく流れてくる黎明の色に染められた障子の紙の、ミルクをながした程のすこし水色がかった色がかるく閉ぢた彼女の瞳から心へ新しい影を投げかける。その影をいつまでも放さないでさきがたの夢の柔かい快さに浸っていたい今朝の春路の心であった。」

[12] 「よこたはった私は右手のひぢをついて指先きで頭を支へていた。足の方から全身に蒸されるやうなあたたかさが忍びよる。私はなかば眼をとぢながら物語をつづけた。一とくさりづつに小さくうなづく従弟のこえもうっとりしている。幼い日に読んだ物語りが長くつづいた。私の声がだんだん小さくなって波の音が心を浸してきた。従弟はもう両手の上に頬をのせて小さい寝息を立てだした。
火燵布団にふれた二つの足をうごかさうとつとめたけれど私の自由にならなかった。だが冷たい髪をふれている右の指先きだけ生々と私の心に残った。」

Another work that stands apart during this period, but that seems to foreshadow her later aesthetics, is a short prose piece titled "Aoi kushi" (Blue comb, 1914.8, *Bunshô sekai*), which shows an aestheticization of everyday life through the domestic act of chopping vegetables. The cucumbers cut by the silver knife are described as decorative combs that one might put on the head of a beautiful woman. The motion of the old woman cutting is likened to a machine, and the repetitive act produces countless replicas of these comb-like cucumbers.

Shinchô Years: 1916-1920

Midori's works were well received by the editors of *Bunshô sekai* and won several distinctions within the journal. After submitting these miscellaneous pieces as an amateur writer, in 1916, Midori gained the opportunity to publish in the major literary journal *Shinchô*, whose editor Nakamura Murao was a family acquaintance.[13] Her first two contributions were essays, one on Kunikida Doppo (1871-1908) who was posthumously canonized as a pioneering figure of Japanese Naturalism, and the other on the emerging woman writer Shiraki Shizu (1895-1918). In both cases, Midori interprets the stories as reflective of the author's ideas, seeing a direct correlation between the protagonist and the author. Both essays once again echo her romantic preoccupation with "sorrow" as the central concern of literature.

Midori's essay on Doppo's short story "Gyûniku to bareisho" (Meat and Potatoes, 1901.11, *Shôtenchi*) reveals the influence of her youthful philosophy, discerning the underlying spirit of the work to be "pathos" (*hiai*), a key term in the Naturalist discourse.[14] Quoting the climactic moment when the protagonist exclaims, "I do not desire to know the mysteries of the

[13] According to Kawasaki Kenko, Nakamura's parents were from Tottori prefecture, and they came to know each other from family connections. Kawasaki Kenko, Osaki Midori: *Sakyû no kanata e* (2010), p.8.
[14] Osaki Midori, "*Gyûniku to bareisho* no dokugo," *Shinchô* (1916.6).

universe; I desire to be surprised at the mysterious universe!"[15] Midori finds a great sense of pathos in this character that desires this notion of authentic experience so intensely but ultimately fails. While the protagonist's romantic wish to break free from habits and to approach life with a fresh attitude may be unattainable, Midori argues that the important thing is not the outcome but one's attitude toward life. One must throw oneself in the midst of pathos, and reach an even profounder state of pathos that comes from an understanding that there is no salvation.

Midori's second essay on Shiraki Shizu as part of the special feature on up-and-coming writers also takes the same evaluative stance, this time regarding a woman writer.[16] Around this time, Shizu was gaining recognition as the second coming of Higuchi Ichiyô, as well as being positioned as a critical alternative to Toshiko, who was still writing regularly in major venues. In contrast to Toshiko, who had become notorious as a decadent writer alongside male writers such as Tanizaki Jun'ichirô, Shizu was seen as a fresh woman writer who grappled with profound themes of illness and death with a serious attitude towards life. Whether this was Midori's own choice or the choice of the editor, it is telling that Midori is paired with Shiraki Shizu as if to create a lineage of women's writing within the major literary journal.[17]

In this essay, Midori continues to evaluate the work for the author's "attitude" (*taido*), a key idea during this period that became the most important criteria for judging a work's literary value. It is upon this point that Midori finds affinity between Shizu and Ogawa Mimei (1882-1961), a novelist and children's storywriter she admires. Underneath what adorns the surface such as topic (*shuzai*), literary style (*hicchi*), or technique (*gikô*), she argues that they share the

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[15] *Kunikida Doppo: Meiji no bungaku* Vol.22, p.94.「宇宙の不思議を知りたいといふ願ではない、不思議なる宇宙を驚きたいといふ願です！」

[16] Osaki Midori, "Shiraki Shizuko ni tsuite," *Shinchô* (1916.10).

[17] Shiraki Shizu was one of the two female writers that were introduced in this issue. The other woman writer was Miyamoto (then Chûjô) Yuriko, who had made her literary debut with "Mazushiki hitobito no mure" (A Crowd of Poor People, 1916.9) in *Chûôkôron* the previous month. The essay was written by 佐藤露江. Midori and Yuriko would meet three years later at Japan Women's College.

same attitude of "seriousness" (*shinkensa*). Midori attributes Shizu's attitude to her physical disability, which is a constant theme of her stories:

> Ms. Shizu has a seriousness that derives from the imperfection of the flesh, a seriousness that cannot be seen in a healthy individual… Her works are presented to us utterly drenched in pathos, without a particle of frivolity. For this alone, her works are valuable.[18] (*OMZ*2, 161)

While Mimei's depiction of pathos is understood to derive from his deep skepticism toward life, Midori writes that it is Shizu's physical disability and proximity to death that allows her to attain this seriousness. Midori's analysis reflects the common connection between women's works and their bodies; in place of Toshiko's erotic body that casts an aura of truth to her depiction of female sexuality, it is Shizu's physical disfigurement that gives her work a sense of immediacy and solemnity.

While this conflation of the literary work and the author's corporeal body echoes essentialist notions on women's writing, Midori's recollection of how her reading experience of Shizu's works changed over the years shows how she was "educated" into this mode of reading. While Midori remembers being deeply touched upon reading her works in 1914, she began to understand only later that these works were flawed, as the "technique" (*gikô*) overwhelmed the "content" (*naiyô*). She thus negatively reevaluates "Reimei no shi" (Death at Daybreak, 1914.10) as a piece of poetry rather than a novel, where the author imagines death aesthetically rather than confronting it as reality. While Midori herself begins to experiment in the merging of poetry and prose in the coming years, she understands this as a weakness within the Naturalist rhetoric, and therefore declares the work a failure by novelistic standards. It is because Shizu's recent works show a move beyond the poetic mode to the realism of the novel that Midori finds her a promising writer.

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[18] 「しづ氏の肉体の不具から来る、健全者には見ることの出来ない真剣さ」「戯作的な分子は微塵も持たないすべてが悲痛な心に浸透されて私共の前に示される、それのみでも氏の作は意義ある物でなければなりません。」

This early essay on Shiraki Shizu lacks the critical distance and playfulness that becomes Midori's signature style later on. While Midori claims that she "sympathizes" (*kyômei*) with Shizu's works and her heroines, this process of identification is in sharp contrast to her mode of reading after she openly rejects the realistic mode of writing. Midori's conclusion that Shizu's works reveal "the truly feminine essence of a woman" (*OMZ*2, 162)[19] also comes as a surprise, as someone who playfully destabilizes gendered categories in later years. This review gives an interesting insight into the early stages of the writer who is immersed in the dominant rhetoric of Naturalism before coming into her own. It also sheds light on Midori's avid self-identification as a woman writer, seeing herself as part of a lineage of other women writers and speaking collectively as "we women" (*watashi domo josei*).

"Natsu iku koro" (Summer Passing, 1916.12, *Shinchô*)

Midori's first fictional work appeared two months later in *Shinchô* as one of the readers' submissions in the literary arts section. Midori's name, still virtually unknown, does not appear in the table of contents page, but is grouped together under the title "Prose" (*sanbun*) among other miscellaneous writers. Inside, the work is titled "Natsu iku koro" (Summer Passing, 1916.12) and the author's name is written as Osaki Midori, her first name printed in *hiragana*. The *hiragana* script gives a childlike impression, perhaps reflecting her self-effacement as an amateur female writer. The sentimental reflection on the theme of illness and death in this short piece clearly shows Shiraki Shizu's thematic influence. Yet, in contrast to Shizu's stories that seem to be directly inspired by the circumstances of her own life, Midori's protagonist resists this autobiographical reading by setting up a male protagonist.

The story presents a young man who is confined in bed with a terminal illness. While Midori had viewed Shizu's work negatively in her review for treating death in a poetic,

[19] 「私はしづ氏の作品に依って、真に女性らしき女性の本質を観ます」

aestheticized fashion that cuts itself off from reality, this short piece shows Midori's fascination with illness as a catalyst for imagination. While the story takes place in a fishing village, the protagonist cuts himself off from his immediate surroundings, seeing the outside world only through the window and in his imagination that seems almost expressionistic. In a delirious state of mind, he sees a "blue rainbow" (*OMZ*1, 56)) flickering and imagines death as "a lonely world where balls of red and blue float and flow along" (*OMZ*1, 58).[20]

While the sentimental tone and seaside landscape distinctly mark the story as one of her early works, one can draw connections to themes that would eventually shape her unique satirical and playful writing in the late 1920s. The protagonist who lives in solitude and confinement is, in fact, very much like the solitary artist figures she later invents. Like the neurotic poet in "Shijin no kutsu" (Shoes Fit For a Poet, 1928.8, *Fujin kôron*), he confines himself indoors and shuns the strong afternoon sun, preferring the less menacing light of early morning. While he suffers from physical illness rather than a psychological one as Midori's later characters do, he accepts death and gives into the comfort of memory and imagination, which takes over reality. He thinks of a girl named Nami whom he had met on the shore a year before, and imagines her by his side day in and day out. While he longs for her physical presence, he realizes after seeing her that he prefers the imagined Nami. This rejection of reality and flight into fantasy becomes a major theme in her later works such as "Mokusei" (Osmanthus, 1929.3, *Nyonin geijutsu*), in which the protagonist chooses the cinematic figure of Charlie Chaplin as her object of love, rather than an actual person that pursues her in reality.

"Mufûtai kara" (From the Calm Zone, 1920.1, *Shinchô*)

Leaving her job as an elementary school teacher, Midori decided to move to Tokyo to seriously pursue her career as a writer. She made two visits to her brother in Tokyo in January

[20] 「矢張り赤や青の球がフワフワ浮んで流れている淋しい世界だ」

and July of 1917, during which she visited Nakamura Murao at *Shinchô* for advice, and finally moved to Tokyo in April 1919 to enter Japan Women's College, where Tamura Toshiko, Hiratsuka Raichô, and Miyamoto Yuriko had also attended. Since her brother had moved to Osaka the previous year, Midori entered the school dormitory where she developed a close friendship with her roommate Matsushita Fumiko, who was to become a life-long friend and supporter. Her friendship built through dormitory life suggests a new community of women made possible by higher education, which allowed young women to form relationships with one another independent of their families.

Midori's big break came when the novella *Mufûtai kara* (From the Calm Zone, 1920.1) made a sensational appearance in the special New Year's issue of *Shinchô* as one of twelve major contemporary writers. This time, her name was clearly written in large print among highly acclaimed contemporaries: Akutagawa Ryûnosuke, Shiga Naoya, Satô Haruo, Mushanokôji Sanetsu, Kikuchi Kan, Kume Masao, Hirotsu Kazuo, and Fujimori Seikichi. Midori was the only woman in the group. Like the earlier story that had featured a male protagonist, Midori's novella is a first-person epistolary narrative in a male voice, narrated by "I" (*boku*) to the recipient of the letter "you" (*kimi*). Through the manipulation of a gendered narrative voice that resists an autobiographical reading, one could argue that even from this early stage, Midori repeatedly contests the expectation of *l'écriture féminine* in the Naturalist discourse that was based on the assumption of the essential uniqueness of woman's experience.

While the mood of the novella continues the heavy-handed sense of pathos that Midori shared with Shizu, the sentimentality at times gives way to an absurd play of words. The over-frequent repetition of the word "loneliness" (*sekiryô*) in the opening passages makes the word

take a life of its own, as if it were a solid immovable object that takes a physical shape.[21] This potentially surrealist vision provides the foreground for this epistolary story, which on the surface appears to be devoid of any of the playful and experimental tone that distinguishes her more mature works. Despite the difference in tone, this first major work by Midori raises themes and questions that feed into her later modernist concerns.

The novella features an unreliable narrator, an invalid who writes a letter to his friend from a hot springs resort while recovering from an illness. The narrator clearly states his intent from the start, which is to reveal to his friend the character of his younger sister: "I have taken up this pen in order to explain to you everything there is to know about Mitsuko" (*OMZ*1, 63).[22] In order to achieve this, he repeatedly declares to give a clear, linear narrative: "I will write in the order of events, faithful to the passage of time" (*OMZ*1, 64).[23] Yet, despite this overt declaration, there is an apparent sense that this is a struggle:

> There are so many things to say about her. I'm at a loss as to how to give expression to the way she appears in my mind. There are too many things that are jumbled together. To put all these together efficiently is outside of our specialty. Although it seems circuitous, I must resign myself to recording the events day by day, as truthfully as possible.[24] (*OMZ*1, 72)

Through this struggle for narration, Midori begins to explore the question of the difficulty of narration and character representation. While Mitsuko herself remains silent, her diary functions as an important source text as an embodiment of truth. The older brother repeatedly turns to her diary as a key to her interiority, as he tries to give voice to what she had struggled to hide behind

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[21] 「寂寥の喰い入った―寂寥其物である様なこの山脈」「身に迫る寂寥」「僕の周囲には今寂寥のみある」「僕は今寂寥に喰い入られて居る」「ただ動かぬ寂寥があるばかりだ」「無風帯のやうな僕の身辺には、いくら払っても払い除ける事の出来ない寂寥が重く澱んでいる」 (*OMZ*1, 61-2)

[22] 「僕は光子の総てを君に説明する為にこのペンを取ったのである」

[23] 「僕は時を追って忠実に書いて行かうと思ふ」

[24] 「彼女について語るべき事はあまりに多い。僕は今僕の心にある彼女を如何に表現して行って好いかに迷ふ。あまり沢山の事がごちゃごちゃに入乱れて有るか らだ。これを手際よく纏めてゆく事は、僕等の専門以外に属する事である。廻りくどい様だが、やはり出来得る限り正直に時日を追ふて記してゆくの易きに僕はつかなければならない。」

her calm appearance. Through this tortuous effort by the narrator, Midori sheds light on the immense effort to represent a female figure who remains silent. He further promises to send the diary to his friend as evidence of his narration.

Midori also begins to explore the existence of non-normative forms of love that becomes an important theme in her later works. While the narrator claims to be writing the letter to convince his friend of Mitsuko's love for him, what unfolds is rather a declaration of his own "strange love" (*tokushu na ai*) or "deformed love" (*kikeiteki na ai*) for his sister. This is ultimately explained by the revelation by Mitsuko's origin of having been born from a different mother, which seems to give legitimacy to their unorthodox attraction. As we have seen, while Midori's early works are filled with a deliberate sense of pathos that is vastly different from her signature parodic style that she develops later on, they also contain glimpses of what would eventually become important critical themes in her modernist writing, such as the problem of narration and character representation, play in fantasy, and the questioning of heteronormative social structures.

Like Tamura Toshiko and her novella "*Akirame*" (1911), which featured a heroine who was confronted with the choice between attending college and pursuing a literary career, Midori's salient debut in the major literary magazine was not regarded well by school authorities, which led to her withdrawal only a month after the publication. Midori had little choice but to return to Tottori after leaving the school, but came to Tokyo frequently to visit her friend and supporter Matsushita Fumiko whose family could afford to give her a house. This shows a support network among young women that was formed as a byproduct of modern women's education. That year, Midori published another story in *Shinchô* titled "Matsubayashi" (Pine Forest, 1920.12), which turned out to be the last piece she published in the journal. The story is once

again filled with the landscape of Tottori, depicting a man and his pet dog as they walk through the pine forest and the sand dunes, overlooking the ocean. Midori narrates the immediate physical sensations of the male protagonist as their interaction goes from playful to an almost violent struggle, once again resisting the dominant expectations of a woman writer to represent women's experience. Midori continued to publish in Tottori-based literary journals during this interval, but it was not until she moved back to Tokyo in 1927 that she began to publish once again in major venues.

2. *Nyonin geijutsu* and Beyond: Urban Print Culture, the Avant-Garde, and Film

In this section, I aim to place Osaki Midori in a global scope of the idea of women's writing and literary history that were taking shape in the late 1920s, in relation to the expansion of female readership and the mass circulation of women's magazines. I examine Midori's active involvement in contemporary discourses, avant-garde movements, and popular cinema, particularly in relation to the women's literary journal *Nyonin geijutsu* (Women's Arts, 1928.7-1932.7). In this journal that became the premiere forum for women's literature edited by women after the discontinuation of *Seitô* (Bluestockings, 1911.9-1916.2), Midori contributed an array of works experimenting with various genres such as prose, poetry, drama, translation, and essay. We can witness her development as a modernist writer on the pages of *Nyonin geijutsu* in conversation with other women writers both in and outside of the magazine, as she joined in their collective feminist endeavor by participating in special issues and roundtable discussions about the future of women's writing in the late 1920s. By illuminating Midori's relationship with this women's journal, I show that her literary innovations and modernist aesthetics are closely

connected to her ideas about gender and to the feminist concerns of the period, intimately tied to expanding print culture, translation culture, and media technology of prewar Japan.

Rejection of Naturalism Through Parody

While both *Shinchô* and *Bunshô sekai* were grounds where works and theories of Japanese Naturalism developed in the first two decades of the 20th century, Midori's style underwent a major shift as she once again moved to Tokyo to make her living as a writer in 1927. Living in the newly developed residential area of Kami-Ochiai among a community of avant-garde and proletarian artists and writers (which include the radical Japanese art group MAVO founders Murayama Tomoyoshi and Yanase Masamu, poet Hagiwara Kyôjirô, critics Itagaki Takao and Itagaki Naoko, writers Hayashi Fumiko and Yoshiya Nobuko), Midori developed a unique comical and parodic style richly embedded with intertexual references to literature, film, and popular culture.

In an essay published in the literary journal *Wakakusa* (Young Grass, 1925.10-1950.2) soon after her move to Tokyo in 1927, Midori clearly articulates her position against the legacies of the established literary movement, and gives a gendered critique of Naturalism as a still persistent force in the Japanese literary world, using a language of inheritance within patriarchal society:

> Our fathers of Japanese literature attained a new way of seeing and experiencing life through the infiltration of Naturalism, and thus pioneered the dawn of modern Japanese literature. We must not forget their great accomplishments. At the same time, we must not simply remain obedient successors of our father's legacy… The lament of Japanese literature today is the steadfast obedience to the corpse of Naturalism. This shows the writer's lack of sensitivity to the age in which s/he lives.[25]

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[25] "Gen bundan no chûshin seiryoku ni tsuite" (On the Leading Force in Today's Literary World, 1927.9, *Wakakusa*). Quoted in *Osaki Midori: Modan gaaru no hen'ai* (2009), pp.101-2.
「日本文学の上の吾々の父親達は、自然主義の移入に依って人生に対する新しい見方感じ方を学び、その上に立って日本近代文学の曙を開拓した。吾々は父親達の業績を忘れてはならない。けれど、同時に何時までも父親の遺産の諾々たる継承者であってはならない。」「現在の日本文学の悲哀は、残骸となった自然主義の固守である。それは作家の時代への感受性の欠乏を意味する。」

Midori's call for a break with the past and commitment to the present is spurred by the rapid expansion of the publishing industry due to the publication of one-yen books (*enpon*) in the latter half of the 1920s, which allowed an unprecedented flourishing of print and translation culture. It is within this literary environment of mass print culture, which created a sense of global simultaneity and a broad historical view of literature that gave rise to the new idea of literary history, that Midori was able to align herself with contemporary European avant-garde movements as well as with the new technological medium of film.

One of the ways in which Midori endeavored to destroy "the corpse of Naturalism" was to destabilize established forms of novelistic prose by taking inspiration from other genres. Experimentation with literary form was a major concern of her day shared among other modernist writers,[26] and Midori does this through a unique sense of playfulness and parody that becomes her signature style. This deconstruction of prose writing through parody is most vividly expressed in her short story "Shijin no kutsu" (Shoes Fit for a Poet, 1928.8), which appeared in the general interest women's magazine *Fujin kôron* (Woman's Review, 1916.1-).[27] The story features a young man who aspires to become an avant-garde poet. In his "ivory tower" (*zôge no tô*), which is a small dark attic room in a Western-style house, the young man imagines himself to be a fashionably modern poet of Symbolism, Dadaism, or Expressionism as the mood strikes his fancy, while disdaining the outmoded styles of the Naturalist school (*shizen-ha*) or the romantic school of Stars and Violets (*seikin-ha*).[28] Poking fun at this melancholic youth who aligns himself with all the latest avant-garde trends, the narrator parodies the experimental poetic

[26] See Seiji Lippit, *Topographies of Japanese Modernism* (2002)
[27] *Fujin kôron* is a sister magazine of general interest magazine *Chûôkôron*, founded with the mission to promote women's rights, targeting female intellectuals as its readers.
[28] The Stars and Violets school refers to a group of romantic poets that published in the poetry journal *Myôjô* (New Star, 1900.4-08.11, 1921.11-27.4), edited by Yosano Tekkan.

expressions in a humorous, light-hearted tone, giving commentary in parentheses: "And so it was that each afternoon Saburô fell into a melancholic state, filling the room with a great spiral of sighs. (This phrase "spiral of sighs" is borrowed from his poetic vocabulary, most likely symbolizing rage and pathos.)" (*OMZ*1, 213).[29] This parodic narrative voice allows Midori to gently satirize the overuse of poetic language, as well as to experiment in the type of poetic-prose that she was aiming to achieve.

In addition to poetry, Midori also parodies the genres of cinema and drama in this story. Looking out of his window one day, Saburô sees a close-up vision of a foot framed by the hem of the skirt, as if in a scene from a movie. This cinematic vision mesmerizes him. Believing that the woman in the window has sent him a note for a tryst in the forest, he paces around the room "in the state of *Sturm und Drang*" (*OMZ*1, 215),[30] which, the narrator explains in parenthesis, is a term he picked up from a book of German literary history because he loved the sound of it. He succumbs to this romantic solicitation despite his antipathy for sentimental poetry in the style of the Star and Violets school. When the whole affair turns out to be only a trick played by the wind, he returns home feeling dejected. Downstairs, he hears the landlord's wife talking about her dog Schiller, named after the currently featured European playwright in their monthly subscription series of dramatic plays (and the dog's name would change every month, from Chekhov, Goethe, Schiller, Ibsen to Strindberg). Feeling melancholy, Saburô takes out his manuscript *Pearl Sunken in a Dark Mood* (*Shinju wa shizunde iru*), which, the narrator adds

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[29] Here and in the following quotations of the story, I have modified Seiji Lippit's translation to emphasize my point. Seiji Lippit (tr), "Shoes Fit for a Poet" in *Modanizumu: Modernist Fiction from Japan 1913-1938*, p.86.
「こんな風で、午後になると三郎は螺旋系の溜息（これは三郎の詩句を借りたものである。多分癇癪と悲哀の象徴であらう）を吐いて、憂鬱に陥った」

[30]「嵐と急迫（シュツルムウントドランク）（これは三郎が独逸文学史から拾った言葉で日頃はその音楽的効果を非常に愛している言葉である）」

playfully, "excites any sensitive reader with its hidden symbolism" (*OMZ*1, 217).[31] After a humorous portrait of these silly yet lovable characters, in tempo with the latest literary trends thanks to the flourishing print culture of the 1920s, the narrator steps in for the last time, announcing the closing of the curtain to give the lead actor a rest.

Debate on Love: Eroticism as Imagined in the Mind

With the rapid advancement of women into the urban workforce, the concept of "love" (*ren'ai*) became a heated topic of debate among male intellectuals during the 1920s.[32] We can also see these debates taking place on the pages of *Nyonin geijutsu*. The two roundtable discussions in 1928, the year Midori's works began to appear, show the women discussing the notion of "love" in relation to a variety of social institutions from marriage, family, and motherhood, to work and property rights, validating sexual desire and critiquing the concept of chastity as derived from certain historical conditions.[33]

It is alongside these debates that we can see Midori exploring her own critical conception of "love" in her various fictional works published in *Nyonin geijutsu*. The unique stance Midori uses to critique the patriarchal value system takes the idea of "love" completely out of the context of material reality, so as to depart from the heteronormative social structure in an imaginative way that can then be connected to her literary aesthetics. In another *Nyonin geijutsu* roundtable discussion in 1930, Midori articulates her own interpretation of love as "eroticism as imagined in the mind" (*OMZ*2, 212),[34] as that which has the potential to rejuvenate literature. Midori's model is German Expressionist drama. Giving the example of Sternheim's *Die Hose* (Underpants, 1911), which was performed in Tsukiji Little Theater in April 1926 under the title

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[31] 「「真珠は沈んでいる」 —心ある人はその標題が何を象徴しているかを考へさせられる三郎の肉筆の詩集である」

[32] Kanno Satomi, *Shôhi sareru ren'ai ron: Taishô chishikijin to sei* (2001).

[33] "Tahômen ren'ai zadankai" (1928.9, *Nyonin geijutsu*) and "Isetsu ren'ai zadankai" (1928.10, *Nyonin geijutsu*).

[34] "Zadan: Rohen zatsuwa" (Fireside Chats, 1930.2, *Nyonin geijutsu*).「頭の中で考へるエロティシズム」

Koshimaki, Midori argues that this eroticism is achieved by a necessary detachment from physical reality and transference into the meta-level world of literature, theater, or cinema: an eroticism that is "within a frame, detached from reality" (*OMZ*2, 212).[35]

This resolute detachment of the literary or cinematic world from material reality becomes the basis for Midori's experimental fiction, one which allows her to play in the realm of parody and irony. This can be seen from the first piece that Midori publishes in *Nyonin geijutsu*, titled "Nioi – Shikôchô no ni-san pêji" (Smell: Some Pages from the Preference Notebook, 1928.11). Midori may have taken inspiration for this poetic idea of "smell" from modernist poet Hagiwara Sakutarô (1886-1942), who wrote in the preface to his book of poetry *Tsuki ni hoeru* (Howling at the Moon, 1917.2) that all good poetry has a "smell" (*nioi*), a feeling of intoxication which is inexplicable by logic or words.[36] While for Sakutarô, this "smell" is the *effect* of good poetry, Midori turns this into poetic reality itself. The work begins with a short passage that stands as a manifesto of her position vis-à-vis reality:

> This is the smell, not the apple itself. The smell does not bind the nose as an apple would bind the tongue. That's why I prefer the apple that saunters around my nostrils to the one on my tongue.[37] (*OMZ*1, 219)

This focus on permeating airs inspired by, yet detached from material reality gives Midori freedom from the concerns of realism. The boundary between the living and the non-living breaks down, resulting in the surrealist image of an apple "saunter[ing] around [the] nostrils." This opening manifesto lays the groundwork for the fragmented pieces of writing that follow

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[35] 「現実と離れた、枠に嵌めたエロティシズム …」

[36] Hagiwara Sakutarô, *Tsuki ni hoeru: Shishû* (1969, Nihon Kindai Bungakkan), p.2.「すべてのよい叙情詩には、理屈や言葉で説明することの出来ない一種の美感が伴ふ。これを詩のにほひといふ。（人によっては気韻とかき気稟とかいふ）にほひは詩の主眼とする陶酔的気分の要素である。」

[37]「これは匂ひで、林檎そのものではありません。匂ひは林檎が舌を縛るほど鼻を縛りません。だから私の舌の上の林檎より、鼻孔のあたりを散歩している林檎の方が好きです。」

addressed to four literary figures (Goethe, Chekhov, Sternheim and Schnitzler), with other figures and fictional characters freely traversing the text.

Midori's unique position on "love" becomes further apparent in *Nyonin geijutsu*'s special issue on Autobiographical Love Stories (*Jidenteki ren'ai shôsetsu*, 1929.3), which was an ambitious and controversial commercial undertaking featuring twenty-nine works of fiction by women. The advertisement for this special issue uses the rhetoric of confession, presenting the magazine's intention as revealing some kind of hidden truth:

> We have long suffered under various fetters. Now, bathed in the beautiful light of dawn of our sex, we have gained the freedom to reveal to you, in all our nakedness, the world of love. Listen, people of the world, to these true confessions of love's memories and hopes, dreams and agitations, vulgarity and purity, passion and scorn![38]

Playing off of the familiar conflation of women's writing and their bodies, this sensational rhetoric evokes the nude female body as the proprietor of truth, as if to suggest that it is in the woman's biological body that true womanhood lies. The table of contents of this issue visually reinforces this point with an illustration of dancing nudes holding hands, resembling Matisse's famous *La Danse* (1909.3). Furthermore, the founder of the journal Hasegawa Shigure (1879-1941) once again uses this metaphor of undressing in the editor's notes, describing the featured works as "cries of truth, disrobing the veils covering our hearts."[39]

Midori's contribution to this Autobiographical Love Stories issue, however, could not be further from this rhetoric of confession rooted in the female body.[40] In "Mokusei" (Osmanthus, 1929.3), Midori moves away from "love" in the real world and delves into the world of cinema.

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[38] Advertisement from *Nyonin geijutsu* (1929.3).「私達は長らく総ゆる桎梏の下に悩んで来た。今や性の美しき曙の光を浴びつつ、全裸の女性の愛の世界を語る自由を持つ。私達の恋愛の追憶と期待、夢想と焦燥、猥雑と神聖、感動と嘲笑の真の告白を、全世界人よ、聴け！」

[39] Editor's notes from *Nyonin geijutsu* (1929.3). 「心のベエールを脱ぎすてた真の叫び」

[40] Sarah Frederick discusses how many of the stories published in this issue problematize the idea of autobiography that is presented in the commercial packaging. Sarah Frederick, *Turning Pages: Reading And Writing Women's Magazines in Interwar Japan* (2006), pp.143-155.

Having refused a marriage proposal, the anti-social narrator who "might as well have been mute, or a piece of moss, passing the days in a rented attic room" (*OMZ*1, 232)[41] enters a rundown theater playing the previous month's rerun of Charlie Chaplin's *Goldrush*. Within this meta-world of cinema, the narrator evokes the materiality of the film and the architectural space of the theater as part of the spectator's cinematic experience:

> Charlie's shoulders, blurred by the rain of the old print, were shaking in the blizzard. Enveloped in the odor of fresh paint and of the toilets, I had to search for Charlie's shoulders. It wasn't only his shoulders. The entire late-running *Goldrush*, having been rained on, was trembling.[42] (*OMZ*1, 234)

Here, the worn out quality of the film itself is described poetically as "rain," and its out of focus image as shivering in the cold, reflecting the narrator's solitary life in poverty. Charlie Chaplin, with whom the narrator is "in love," in fact steps out of the screen to join her as she walks home, replacing the man she has rejected in reality. Turning away from the "surface of the earth" (*chikyû no kawa*), the narrator chooses to live in this alternate world of the imagination carried out on the silver screen and in the attic room, which functions as a haven from real life. Charlie Chaplin, the sad yet comical figure who invites laughter with his awkwardness and alienation, becomes a recurring figure in Midori's writing as her alter ego.

Love and Urban Print Culture

Love becomes the central object of parody in "Appurupai no gogo" (Apple Pie Afternoon, 1929.8, *Nyonin geijutsu*), a comic chamber play between an older brother and younger sister who live together in Tokyo, away from their parents in the country. Through the

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[41]「私は屋根裏の借部屋で唖であっても、または一本の苔であっても差支へないやうな日日を送っている」

[42] I have modified Miriam Silverberg's translation to emphasize my point. Miriam Silverberg (tr), "Osmanthus" in *Manoa: A Pacific Journal of International Writing* (Fall 1991), p.188.「吹雪の中のチャアリイの肩は古写真の雨にぼかされてぶるぶると震へていた。私は塗りかへペンキと便所の匂ひに包まれてチャアリイの肩を探さなければならなかった。彼の肩ばかりではない。日おくれのゴオルドラッシュ全体が雨に降られて身震ひしているのだ。そしてチャアリイはといへば全世界に笑ひを撒かうとして却って淋しさばかり撒いていた。」

form of dramatic dialogue between these two comical figures, Midori illuminates the flourishing print culture of urban schools, where love has become the central literary concern. For the brother, love is the key to gaining a "*raison d'être*" (*sonzai riyû*); inebriated by the romantic notion of love, he exclaims the German term "*liebe*" and English word "love" to heighten the status of his emotion. The sister, on the other hand, seems to be having a secret affair behind his back. While the new, modern forms of love came to be seen as a source of moral anxiety over newly established urban schools, Midori presents the characters as loveable caricatures of modern youths, making humorous shorthand references to contemporary urban culture by interspersing voguish terms and images throughout the text.

The brother criticizes his sister's modern ways, mocking her bobbed hair and her "blue stockings" (*aoi kutsushita*) a literal reference to the symbol of feminism from the previous decade. He chastises her for masculine ways, imitating the male students with her collection of used books from Kanda and her involvement in the school coterie magazine. His comical gender stereotyping and description of her "unfeminine" body (rough skin, protruding Adam's apple, boney shoulders, gaunt legs) gives insight into the contemporary gender expectations and satirical view of modern women. Seeing what to him is incomprehensible behavior, the brother labels her as "*hentai*," a popularized term connoting abnormality or perversion, and attributes to her the modern nervous disorder of hysteria that was believed to be a woman's affliction. The sister dodges these critiques with wit; when the brother gets a glimpse of her love letters, she tells him that it is simply a copy of *Ichiyô zenshû* (Collected Works of Ichiyô). This shorthand image of the Meiji writer Higuchi Ichiyô as the exemplary woman whose writing is fit for the reading of young girls, produces a comic, anachronistic effect in this decidedly modern play.

Writing is directly connected to the sister's unfeminine body (the constant use of a man's fountain pen (*otoko-mochi*) makes calluses on her fingers), and functions as the central source of anxiety in the play. While the brother criticizes his sister for her involvement in the coterie magazine, a venue of self-expression for young schoolgirls for a select yet public audience, he is in love with her schoolmate Yukiko who also writes for the magazine. The brother is both seduced and feels threatened by the power the women gain over him through writing, using a language shared among schoolgirls that he hardly understands. Furthermore, the siblings' comic fight results in the visual profusion of paper (magazine, letters, telegraphs), humorously pointing to the opulence of print culture in this urban setting, where nothing means what it says on the surface. Full of hyperbole and hidden meanings, language is shown here as an indulgence in narcissism, a means of self-expression and, moreover, a means of flirtation. When the sister's lover shows up, she hands him a love letter she has written. Although the brother worries that her unfeminine appearance is a proof of her lack of interest in romantic affairs, it turns out to be quite the opposite – she lures her lover with her pen, and invites her lover's kisses.

Modernist (Mis)translation

In addition to the genres of manifesto, poetic prose, and dramatic dialogue, Midori's parodic experiments can be witnessed in the genre of translation. Translation played a crucial role in the formation of modern Japanese literature, introducing the latest European literary theories and works from the late 19th century onwards. It also provided a new form of self-expression for women, such as opportunities in translating children's stories.[43] In the 1920s and 30s, translation became a new means of modernist experiment. In the global context of literary modernism, Ezra Pound's creative misreading of the Chinese written language is fundamental to

[43] See Melek Ortabashi's "Brave Dogs and Little Lords: Some Thoughts on Translation, Gender, and the Debate on Childhood in Mid Meiji" (pp.186-212) and Jan Bardsley's "The New Woman of Japan and the Intimate Bonds of Translation" (pp.213-233) in Indra Levy's edited volume, *Translation in Modern Japan* (2011).

his modernist poetics, and Arthur Waley's imaginative translation of *The Tale of Genji* (1925-33) allowed the work to be recognized as a masterpiece in the realm of world literature.

Midori uses the genre of translation to take inspiration from a canonized author, questioning authorship and playfully exploring themes that she expands upon in her subsequent writings. The work that she translates as part of the special translation issue of *Nyonin geijutsu* is Edgar Allan Poe's short story "Morella" (original, 1835.4; *Nyonin geijutsu*, 1930.1), and this choice shows her affinity with European avant-garde movements in which Poe played an important part. In a short biographical description of the author, Midori describes Poe as a "pure free-floater" (*jun-yûrisha*), who "has not half a chair to sit on in the world of Naturalism, but would be reverently given an armchair similar to a royal throne within French Symbolism."[44] As Midori suggests here, Poe became a major influence in the French Symbolist movement, through Baudelaire's translation, for the visionary quality and melancholy mood of his works and his treatment of the fantastic and the grotesque. "Morella" features an unnamed male narrator, who tells the ghostly story of the death of his eponymous wife Morella, who haunts him after her death through their daughter. The central theme of mysticism, the narrator's increasingly distraught mind, and the doubling of the two Morellas may have been some reasons why Midori decided to translate this story. Her translation is often imprecise and sometimes blatantly inaccurate, but her (mis)translations illuminate her unique reading of the story, and how she may have gained inspiration for her own works.

One aspect of Midori's (mis)translation lies in the treatment of the narrator's mental instability. The unreliable narrator is a repeated theme in Poe's fiction, and while this is certainly dramatized in "Morella," Midori accentuates his mental instability beyond the scope of the

[44] *Nyonin geijutsu* (1930.1), p.143.「自然主義の世界に於ては坐るべき半分の椅子なく、仏蘭西象徴派中に於ては王座と家族的肱掛椅子を恭呈せられし人」

original. When the narrator explains that his growing interest for his wife's "mystical writings" had more to do with habit than with rational thinking (Poe: "In all this, if I err not, my reason had little to do" (Poe, 667), Midori misinterprets this as, "In all of this, if I err not, my reason *was entirely dubious*" (*OMZ*2, 150).[45] Furthermore, she more than once inserts the word "madman" (*kichigai*) where no such word appears in the original: Poe's "I abandoned myself implicitly to the guidance of my wife" (Poe, 667) becomes "I abandoned myself, *like a madman*, to the guidance of my wife" (*OMZ*2, 150).[46] In another instance, Midori misreads the husband's waning affection for his wife for the weakening of his own mind; Poe's "gradual *alienation* of my regard" (Poe, 668) becomes translated as the "gradual *maddening* of my regard" (*OMZ*2, 151).[47] This characterization of the narrator as a madman takes away the ghostly quality of the original, and brings it more clearly into the realm of psychological drama.

Another interesting (mis)translation, a fundamental misreading, lies in the narrator's attitude towards his wife and daughter. Whereas the narrator secretly desires his wife's *death* in the original story, Midori reads this as a desire for Morella *herself*. Therefore, whereas Poe's narrator is horrified at the uncanny resemblance between his dead wife and his daughter, whom he imagines has come back to haunt him and becomes the cause for the disintegration of his sanity, Midori repeatedly interprets the narrator's agitation as his incestuous *desire* for his daughter, kindled by her likeness to her mother. This total misreading gives a perverse shade to the story, and connects to the ambiguous yet charged theme of pseudo-incest and other forms of non-normative love that runs through Midori's works. Just as the relationships that Midori

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[45] Modern Library ed, *The Collected Tales and Poems of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York: Modern Library, 1992), p.667. All the emphases in the quotations are mine.
「私の思いちがひでないならば、私の理性はいったいに怪しいものだった。」
[46]「私はつひに気ちがひのやうに妻の指導に一身を委ね」
[47]「彼女は私の凝視が次第に気ちがひめいてくる原因をも知っているやうだ」

evokes are never sexualized, Poe's story also begins with the explanation that the narrator's peculiar love for Morella was a burning of the soul, not "fires… of Eros" (Poe, 667).

One can certainly see the distinct signature of Midori's poetic sensibility in the translation, such as in the imaginative description of a "faint *smell* floating in heaven" (*OMZ*2, 152)[48] where the original says simply, "the winds lay still in heaven" (Poe, 668). This idea of "smell" (*nioi*) is an important recurring keyword for Midori in describing a poetic reality that is inexplicable by logic or words, as we saw in the fragmented work "Nioi." By inserting the signature image of "smell" into Poe's text, one could argue that Midori transforms the work with her distinct modernist style.

While staying within the limits of translation, the uncanny quality of Poe's prose is lightened and made almost comical in Midori's rendering, which becomes particularly evident in Morella's dying speech that is made amusingly colloquial. While there is little humor in Poe's original melancholy heroine, the figure of Morella, an imaginative woman who spends her time pouring over dubious mystical books and philosophical writing by Fichte, Schelling and Locke, may have served as a model for Midori's quirky heroine Ono Machiko, who turns to pseudo-scientific material for poetic inspiration in her most famous work, *Dainana kankai hôkô* (Wandering in the World of the Seventh Sense, 1931). Furthermore, the doubling of the mother and daughter within the narrator's distraught mind, depicted not so much as a source of alienation but as a source of playful inspiration, may have given Midori a hint that would lead to her later elaboration of "schizo-psychology" (*bunretsu shinri*), a nonsensical term she invents based on Freud's psychoanalytic theory. Midori's conscious or unconscious, yet nonetheless playful (mis)translation shows her own modernist aspirations to become a "pure free-floater" as she described Poe.

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[48] 「大空にはまだそこはかとない匂ひの漂っている頃」

Freudian Psychoanalysis and the Rambling Thinker

Freudian psychoanalysis was popularized during the 1920s, peaking in 1929 with the publication of his complete works by two separate publishers Arusu and Shun'yôdô.[49] In the midst of this enthusiasm for new studies of psychology, Midori expresses her own aim to create a "fresh and three-dimensional writing" (*OMZ*2, 216), or what she calls "tactile literature" (*shokkaku bungaku*) (*OMZ*2, 216).[50] This suggestion of going beyond the two-dimensional realm of text shows her particular spatial imagination, and an attempt to create a new kind of textual reality by taking hint from new studies in psychology. Fascination with irrational or unconscious forces was a shared modernist concern in the 1920s and 30s (as seen in Dadaism, New Sensationism and new psychological literature), and Midori explores this new literary possibility in a particular poetic-prose style, questioning genre and literary style in the age when various urban technological advancements were changing fundamental sense perceptions, as well as modes and practices of reading and writing.

This privileging of the senses and the unconscious as new organizing vectors in writing is articulated in a series of essays titled *Eiga Mansô* (Rambling Thoughts on Film, 1930.4-9, *Nyonin geijutsu*). In these film essays, Midori gives theoretical musings on the nature of cinema, as well as reviews of individual films being shown at local theaters. Self-consciously departing from formal or authoritative film criticism, Midori takes on the narrative persona of the "rambling thinker" (*mansôka*), an amateur spectator of film concerned only with the world unfolded on the screen. She begins the series by describing the "psychology" (*shinri*) of the

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[49] Sone Hiroyoshi, "Furoito no shôkai to eikyô: Shinshinrishugi seiritsu no haikei," in *Shôwa bungaku no shomondai* edited by Shôwa bungaku kenkyûkai (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1979).

[50] "Joryû shijin, sakka zadankai" (Roundtable Discussion with Women Poets and Writers, 1930.5, *Shishin*). *Shishin* (God of Poetry, 1925.9-1931.10).「私は日本の自然主義の手法、考へ方などからすっきりと一回転した心境文学、触覚文学、そういふものを提供したいと思ひます 」「新鮮な立体的な文章」

spectator, focusing on the process of cinematization (*eiga-ka*) through film. The "cinematized" spectator is described as follows:

> The rambling thinker mobilizes not only his eyes, but also all his other sense organs toward the actor's body. Here is the emergence of the sensory spectator, who engages in an intimate intercourse with each part of the actor's body. It would be interesting to capture this exchange in the manner of German Expressionist film. The spectator's throat may taste the candle that Charlie hungrily chews, or his hands may caress Pickford's bare ankle. One might even see him smelling the sound of Nita Naldi's triangular fingernails with his nose, or hearing the barbarism emanating from Gilbert's body with his ears.[51] (*OMZ*2, 96)

Through this mixing up of the senses, Midori describes the spectator's erotic (in her sense of the word) encounters with the actors on screen. The spectator becomes so incorporated into the cinematic experience that he becomes part of the film itself. Furthermore, Midori describes the rambling thinker as capturing "rambling thoughts that appear and disappear like scenes on the screen, resembling the cloud or the haze of the morning sun, or mist, shadow, foam or fog" (*OMZ*2, 94).[52] As we saw in her manifesto in "Nioi," immaterial and ephemeral airs provide for Midori a powerful metaphor for the modern artistic experience, and these key metaphors would form the central poetic vision in her novella *Dainana kankai hôkô*.

3. Wandering in the World of the Seventh Sense

Following the series of works published in *Nyonin geijutsu*, Osaki Midori began to depart from the major women's literary journal and to publish her works mainly in smaller-scale coterie

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[51] The translation is partly taken and revised from Livia Monnet's article, "Montage, Cinematic Subjectivity and Feminism in Ozaki Midori's Drifting in the World of the Seventh Sense" (1999).「彼は眼だけでなく、他の全感官を役者の全身に向って働かし始める。此処に一個の感覚的観客が生まれる。そこで、彼の各感官と役者の体躯の部分部分との交差が始まるのだ。これを表現派の手法で撮ったら、いくらかおもしろい画面になると思う。この観客の咽喉が、飢えたチャアリイの齧っている蝋燭の味を味わい、彼の手がピックフォードのむきだしの踝を撫でているのはまだいい。彼はニタ・ナルディの三角な爪の音を鼻で感じ、ギルバアトの四半身に漂いでた蛮性を耳で感じないとは言えないのだ。」

[52]「丁度幕の上の場景のように、浮び、消え、移ってゆくそぞろな想いのことで、だから雲とか、朝日のけむりとか、霧・影・泡・霞なんかには似ていても、一定の視点を持った、透明な批評などから は遠いものだと思う。」

journals. One could perhaps read this as a quiet resistance to the existing community of women writers that was increasingly gaining presence in the commercializing publishing industry. Instead of the venue of *Nyonin geijutsu*, which launched the huge commercial success of Hayashi Fumiko's serialized novel *Hôrôki* (Diary of a Vagabond, 1928-29), Midori's major undertaking *Dainana kankai hôkô* (Wandering in the World of the Seventh Sense, 1931) first appeared partially in the February - March 1931 issue of the coterie journal *Bungaku tôin* (Literary Member of the Party), and the finished version appeared three months later in the June issue of the avant-garde journal *Shinkô geijutsu kenkyû* (Studies on the Avant-garde Arts). The journal was edited by Itagaki Takao (1894-1966), who lived in Ochiai with his wife and critic Itagaki Naoko (1896-1977), both with whom Midori had a personal acquaintance.

The complete novella was accompanied by an essay titled "*Dainana kankai hôkô* no kôzu sonota" (The Composition and Other Aspects of *Wandering in the World of the Seventh Sense*, 1931.6, *Shinkô genjutsu kenkyû*), in which Midori explains her ideas on the structure of the work. This essay functions to take the novella out of the autobiographical mode of reading that was expected of, and perpetuated by certain women writers such as Hayashi Fumiko, and gives insight into Midori's unique technological and spatial imagination in which non-linguistic forms of geometric composition, architectural form, and train travel become starting points and driving forces to her narrative. The displacement of language, which she playfully calls an "archenemy of literature" (*bungaku no kyôteki*), is central to Midori's conceptions on new modes of expression and subjectivity in the modern technologized age.

At the same time, Midori's literary innovations and modernist aesthetics are closely connected to her feminist concerns that continued to be shared by the women of *Nyonin geijutsu*. As a work that straddles the interrelated contexts of feminism and modernism, *Dainana kankai*

hôkô might benefit from being read as a reimagining of Virginia Woolf's novel *To the Lighthouse* (1927.5), which was being introduced and translated into Japanese from 1930 onwards. As a parody of traditional family structure and the architecture of the home, both works give poignant social and cultural critiques through the evocation of female artist figures, Lily Briscoe and Ono Machiko, who strive to achieve unique artistic visions. Both figures are marked by recurring visual motifs that are seen as oddities by others: Machiko's unruly red hair and Lily's Chinese eyes are elements that seem ethnically foreign to their bodies.[53] Furthermore, the privileging of poetic vision over material production in both works (Lily's paintings will only be hung in attics; Machiko scribbles in her little notebook that she keeps in her desk) suggests a feminist critique of the process of canonization and possibilities of women's literary production.

"*Dai nana kankai hôkô* no kôzu sono ta" (The Composition and Other Aspects of *Wandering in the World of the Seventh Sense*, 1931.6)

In her preliminary notes for *To the Lighthouse*, Woolf famously draws the shape of an "H," envisioning the form of the novel as "two blocks joined by a corridor."[54] Midori also began her novella with a non-linguistic diagram. In the essay "*Dai nana kankai hôkô* no kôzu sono ta," Midori explains her method of writing as emerging from geometric shapes such as circles and triangles, or other shapes that contain the vortex force of a windmill or the organic complexity of a spider's web. It is in the process of filling these various "scenes" (*bamen*), by jotting down fragments of words and symbols, that Midori finds ideas to begin writing. While this is the usual method, Midori states that she went one step further in *Dainana kankai hôkô* and created an entire map (*seizu* or *chizu*) that contained a series of non-linguistic diagrams representing

[53] "With her little Chinese eyes and her puckered-up face, she would never marry; one could not take her painting very seriously; she was an independent little creature, and Mrs. Ramsay liked her for it" (*TL*, 17); "Mrs. Ramsay… thinking that Lily's charm was her Chinese eyes, aslant in her white, puckered little face, but it would take a clever man to see it" (*TL*, 26)

[54] Susan Dick, "Appendix A" of *To the Lighthouse: The Original Holograph Draft* (1982), p.11.

different scenes. In creating this map, she aimed to discard as much "explanation" (*setsumei*) as possible and to use "description" (*byôsha*) for each individual scene, making them resonate with one another by connecting them with visual motifs that recur throughout the text (such as a bohemian necktie or mandarin oranges). Midori describes the map as resembling a "railway map" (*tetsudô chizu*) consisting of circular stations, in which she would note the names of characters and their psychological states. For each station or scene, she would also draw the layout of the room and the furniture and objects that would fill it.

Writing is, then, already a process of translation from a non-linguistic medium to a linguistic one, and therefore necessarily inadequate. Midori records the difficulty of translating these scenes into language, and how words would either burst through the limits of the diagrams, or in contrast be insufficient to fill them.

> What is troublesome after picking up the pen is that although the scenes are already completed in my mind as individual paintings, I encounter a flood of language, or its poverty, whenever I try to describe the scenes using words. Language, I believe, is the perpetual archenemy of literature.[55] (*OMZ*1, 367)

Not only is it difficult to translate these scenes into language, but the map also develops and changes in the process of writing so that the original sketch becomes indecipherable. Midori's creative process is thus a simultaneous one of writing and drawing/mapping, each medium threatening to overcome the other.

The characters that inhabit the railway map, Midori describes, are not fully portrayed characters with distinct personalities, but are characterized overall by certain dispositions or idiosyncrasies. They are all introverted and paranoid, representing a certain "psychology of the age" (*jidai shinri*) that is shared in the modern world. Midori expresses her boredom for

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[55]「ただペンをとった後で困ることは、場面場面はすでに一つの絵画とし て頭の中に描かれているのにそれを言葉で描こうとするとき言葉の洪水に出逢ったり、言葉の貧困に陥ったりすることです。言葉はつねに文学の強敵だと思います。」

literature that deals with "normative psychology" (*seijô shinri*), and declares to step into a world inhabited by characters afflicted with "abnormal psychology" (*hi-seijô shinri*). To create this world where abnormality is the norm, "a world that does not smoothly follow the earth's laws of operation" (*OMZ*1, 368),[56] Midori playfully confesses to have committed the sin of inventing certain new terms suitable to the modern age, loosely inspired by Freud. The term "*bunretsu shinri*" (schizo-psychology) is one such neologism, which will be explained later in the analysis of the novella. Taking inspiration from a few books on psychoanalysis that she has read in the past, Midori expresses her intention to create a spin-off "nonsense psychology" (*nansensu shinrigaku*) of her own, filling the world of the novella with idiosyncratic characters that Freud might be interested in examining.

Virginia Woolf shares this interest in Freud, though the difference in the two writer's approach to Freud reflects the difference in tone of the two works. Though she was often skeptical of the medical practices of psychology, Woolf later described her writing of *To the Lighthouse* as similar to undergoing the treatment of psychoanalysis.[57] The themes that are explored with profound pathos in *To the Lighthouse* are treated with postmodern lightness in *Dainana kankai hôkô*, written four years later.

***Dainana kankai hôkô* (1931)**

The themes that had marked the beginning of Midori's career – romantic ruminations on illness and death, evocations of a solitary artist within the natural landscape of Tottori – shifts to a world of quirky artist figures in the urban setting of Tokyo, where "abnormal psychology"

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[56] 「そこで、彼等の住むに適した世界とは、あながち地球運転の法則にしたがって滑かに運転して行く世界ではありません。」

[57] "I wrote the book very quickly; and when it was written, I ceased to be obsessed by my mother. I no longer hear her voice; I do not see her. I suppose that I did for myself what psycho-analysts do for their patients. I expressed some very long felt and deeply felt emotion. And in expressing it I explained it and then laid it to rest." Virginia Woolf, "A Sketch of the Past," *Moments of Being*, p.81.

serves as an inspiration for art. In the first person narrative voice of Ono Machiko, a recurring heroine of her subsequent works, the story begins with a fairy tale-like opening: "Once upon a long distant past" (*OMZ*1, 277).[58] The name Ono Machiko is a recognizable pun on the 9th century female poet Ono no Komachi, playing on the idea of women's literary lineage that Japanese feminists had envisioned. What unfolds, however, is not the classic tale of amorous encounters as expected from the great Heian court poetess known for her beauty, but an unconventional story of an imaginative girl whose mission is to find the realm of the Seventh Sense in which her poetry will resonate.

The story begins as Machiko moves into an old, rundown house with her two older brothers and a male cousin. The older brother Ichisuke is a psychiatrist specializing in *bunretsu shinri* (schizo-psychology), the second brother Nisuke is an agricultural scientist that studies moss, and her cousin Sangorô is an aspiring music student.[59] What follows is a record of quotidian events, which are at once domestic and bizarre, such as the boiling of manure for the scientific experiment of breeding moss, or the comic opera pieces sung with the accompaniment of an out-of-tune piano. Instead of any form of conventional plotline, these recurring motifs appear in and out of the story like a musical phrase. Although the novella is presented as a first person narrative, other voices and texts break into Machiko's narration, so that the text becomes a collage of different voices. Different levels of language coexist in the text without being subsumed into an omniscient narrative voice: the poetic and lyrical voice of Machiko's first person narrative, the comic dialogue between the brothers, the lengthy excerpts from Nisuke's pseudo-scientific thesis written entirely in *katakana*, the silent exchange of letter with the next door neighbor, and so on.

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[58] 「よほど遠い過去のこと」

[59] Midori's playful use of numbers (ichi=one, ni=two, san=three) continues in the names of other characters, such as Kôroku (=six), Tôhachi (=eight) and Kyûsaku (=nine) in her subsequent works.

Like Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*, the world of *Dainana kankai hôkô* centers upon the physical presence of a house. There is a sense that houses last longer than human life, that it is a predetermined space in which humans reside, but temporarily. The house in Woolf's novel belongs to the Ramsay family and has been handed down through generations, signifying continuity and stability. After the ten years of human absence in the "Time Passes" section, which evokes the Great War that becomes a catalyst for the fragmentation of traditional family life, there is a tremendous sense of loss for what is now past. There is also simultaneously a glimpse of new artistic possibilities for the future, without which Lily Briscoe's painting would never be complete. The house in Midori's novella belongs, as it were, to the second half of Woolf's novel, following the passage through the corridor. It is a rented house, always holding temporary residents who come and go. The old and rundown house makes a striking contrast with the still unformed and unconventional youths that occupy it.

In the post-"Time Passes" world of *Dainana kankai hôkô*, the youths make use of the old useless furniture that has been left behind, adding their own creative touch with makeshift furniture and decorations. Sangorô makes a desk lamp out of clay for Machiko's room, for example, while she makes its shade out of wires and strings. These objects and furniture are not made to last, and there is a perpetual sense of unrootedness that pervades the text. We know from the opening line that Machiko "spent time as part of this strange family for a brief period between autumn and winter" (*OMZ*1, 277).[60] Sangorô constantly talks of moving elsewhere, and Ichisuke dreams of going on an aimless journey, just as Nisuke had once done. For these rootless characters, furthermore, the rooms do not connote a delineation of individual space, but constitute a sense of fluidity throughout the house. Even though Machiko is given the maid's room, it is not what could be called a "room of one's own," a private space to pursue and

[60] 「秋から冬にかけての短い期間を、私は、変な家庭の一員としてすごした」

cultivate one's artistic vision. The brothers and cousin go in and out of the room freely, just as Machiko goes into their rooms freely. Sangorô climbs in and out of the window rather than using the front door.

The dinner scene is central to the first section of *To the Lighthouse*, where Mrs. Ramsay presents the magnificent dish Boeuf en Daube, a recipe handed down from her grandmother. With the family members and friends seated around the dinner table, the scene signifies a momentous triumph of unity and harmony, centered upon the great mother figure. When Mrs. Ramsay suddenly dies in the "Time Passes" section, Lily Briscoe struggles to grapple with the remnants of the past and move on. The mother figure, however, is entirely absent from Midori's youthful world. Even though we are told that Machiko comes to the house to fulfill the domestic role of cooking for her two brothers and cousin, the characters never seem to have proper food in the house, but are always nibbling on insubstantial foods whose images recur over and over like a musical phrase: sweet bean paste (*yôkan*), caramel, dried persimmons, fermented soybeans from Hamamatsu, sour mandarin oranges from the yard, sugar cubes, some pieces of dried seaweed, and so on. Even the radishes that Nisuke cultivated as part of his scientific experiment are left to go to waste. This contributes to the unworldly atmosphere of the novella, detached from the necessities of material reality. Instead of being a physical need, food even becomes an occasion for aesthetic appreciation. Machiko wears the chestnuts sent from her grandmother as a necklace, turning its nutritional value into an aesthetic object.

In contrast to the flourishing print culture parodied in "Appurupai no gogo," *Dainana kankai hôkô* presents a dreamy world where the finished product is secondary to poetic vision. While it is unclear whether Machiko reaches the realm of the Seventh Sense, let alone produce any actual writing that is worthy of publication, it is the process of exploring that is privileged in

the text as she goes through a series of epiphanies triggered by ordinary things and happenings around her. Reading her brother's book on schizo-psychology, Machiko imagines the realm as a psychological space: "This spacious, psychological world filled with mist; isn't this the world of the Seventh Sense?" (*OMZ*1, 292).[61] On another occasion, surrounded by the smell of Nisuke's boiling of manure and the sound of Sangorô's out-of-tune piano, she imagines the realm as a mixture of sensory perceptions: " The faint odor of manure that floated from Nisuke's room deepened the pathos of the sound of the piano. And the music and the odor made me wonder: isn't the Seventh Sense this feeling of pathos that is awakened by a layering of more than two senses?" (*OMZ*1, 293).[62]

The most heightened of these epiphanic states occur directly after the cutting of Machiko's hair. Her unruly red hair had been a recurring motif in the novella that symbolized the heroine's unusual nature, a constant source of worry for her grandmother who wished that she would fit into society. The cutting of her hair then, as it did for many "modern girls" in the 1920s, symbolized a liberation from the morals and values of the previous generation. The scene where Sangorô cuts off Machiko's hair is described as a sexual initiation:

> When the sound of the thick scissors reverberated in my throat with the first cut, I shut my eyes even more tightly and felt as if my heart would stop beating. I felt my face go pale, then turn bright red… Tears ran down from my closed eyes to my chin, and I could not wipe them for a long time… I felt a sudden chill on my neck, as if I had been stripped naked.[63] (*OMZ*1, 298)

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[61] 「こんな広々とした霧のかかった心理界が第七官の世界といふものではないであらうか 」

[62] 「そのとき二助の部屋からながれてくる淡いこやしの臭いは、ピアノの哀しさをひとしお哀しくした。そして音楽と臭気とは私に思わせた。 第七官といふのは、二つ以上の感覚がかさなってよびおこすこの哀感ではないか」

[63] 「最初のひとはさみで、厚い鋏の音が咽喉の底にひびいたとき、私は眼をひとしほ固くし、心臓のうごきが止みさうであった。私の顔面は一度蒼くなり、その次に 真赤になった感じであった（中略）私はつぶった眼から頤（あご）にかけて泪をながし、ずいぶん長い時間を、泪を拭くこともならなかった（中略）私の頸は急に寒く、私は全身素裸にされたのと違はない気もちで」

This sexual initiation takes on a symbolic meaning of mental liberation. Following this scene, with the scent of perfume sprayed on her hair mixing with the smell of manure that is being boiled in another room, Machiko achieves an intense artistic epiphany that appears to be an entry into the world of the Seventh Sense:

> Breathing in the crowded air deeply through my nose, I was momentarily awakened; then I took another deep breath. After a while, I found myself living in a hazy world. There, my senses functioned separately, then melted into one, then came apart, continuing to function without coherence.[64] (*OMZ*1, 300)

Sitting in the midst of a mixture of odors becoming more and more intense, and listening to the faint boiling sound of manure, Machiko achieves a state of disintegration and fusion that resembles the effect of cinematization as described in *Eiga Mansô*. This post-cinematized experience of the world that is to give birth to the modern artist is an in-between state of consciousness and unconsciousness, where time expands and runs out of sync with material reality, bringing back memories of the past into the present in confusion.

When Machiko tries to translate these epiphanic moments onto paper, however, what ends up in her notebook are ordinary sentimental love poems. These poems seem to be about her cousin Sangorô, who fusses over her short hair and kisses her exposed neck. She is heartbroken when she sees Sangorô standing next to the mysterious girl living next door, with whom she also has a silent letter exchange. While "love" (*ren'ai*) is playfully upheld as a catalyst for any artistic or intellectual pursuit in the novella, this notion is once again parodied and removed from human experience into the realm of pseudo-scientific experiments. In contrast to the characters' obsession with losing love (*shitsuren*), the model for the healthy form of love is shifted to the world of the mosses, and Nisuke's thesis on "love" between the mosses becomes Machiko's

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[64]「こみ入った空気を鼻から深く吸ひいれることによってすこしのあひだ醒め、ふたたび深い息を吸った。さうしてるうちに、私は、霧のやうなひとつの世界に住んでいたのである。そこでは私の感官がばらばらにはたらいたり、一つに溶けあったり、またほぐれたりして、とりとめのない機能をつづけた。」

favorite secret reading. Though its scientific value is thoroughly undermined by the tone of confession and intimacy, Machiko constantly turns to the pseudo-scientific thesis as a source of poetic inspiration.

Towards the end of the story, Machiko announces that she has successfully fallen in love in a mock scientific voice: "It was one evening in late autumn that my 'love' quite unexpectedly began" (*OMZ*1, 356).[65] This is occasioned, we find, by an encounter with a man who tells her that she resembles a photograph of a certain female poet in a thick book of European literary history. Machiko cannot decipher the text written in foreign words ("Was it German? Was it French?" she asks); all she could see was that there were numerous photographs of men, and occasionally those of women. After a while, she loses distinction between herself and the photograph, experiencing another epiphanic moment. When she tries to find out more about the poet by consulting several Japanese books on European poetry, she fails to find any information on her. The novella ends with Machiko daydreaming about this female poet that lived in the attic and wrote "poems about wind, smoke and air" (*OMZ*1, 364),[66] living in obscurity and unrecorded in literary history books. The obscure female poet at the end of the novella points to important issues of canonization and literary history that will be further explored in subsequent works.

4. Imagining Literary Histories and Utopian Communities

Following *Dainana kankai hôkô*, Midori published a series of shorter experimental works in small coterie journals devoted to women's literature or avant-garde arts, pointing to her position as a modernist woman writer. "Hokô" (Walking, 1931.9) was first published in the women's journal *Katei* (Home), then reprinted shortly after in the avant-garde journal *Bungaku*

[65] 「私の恋愛のはじまったのは、ふとした晩秋の夜のことであった。」
[66] 「彼女はいつも屋根部屋に住んでいた詩人で、いつも風や煙や空気の詩をかいていたといふことであった」

Quarterly (Literature Quarterly).[67] "Kôrogi-jo" (Miss Cricket, 1932.7) was published in *Hi no tori* (Phoenix), a women's literary magazine that shared the same writers as *Nyonin Geijutsu*.[68] "Chikashitsu Anton no ichiya" (A Night in Anton's Basement, 1932.8) was published in *Shin kagakuteki bungei* (New Scientific Arts).[69] Written during the prolific years between 1931 and 1932, these works display radically different narrative forms while continuing to explore similar themes as the novella using recurring characters. While *Dainana kankai hôkô* was already a collage of different narrative voices and texts, the works following become even more fragmented and experimental in narrative form. These loosely connected works collectively illuminate key issues of the day such as ideas about canonization and literary history, popular discourses of psychology, and gender politics that are relevant even today.

Walking and Wandering: "Hokô" (Walking, 1931.9)

Modern critic Seiji Lippit argues that one of the key elements of modernism in the 1920s and 30s is the movement from "enclosed, interior spaces… onto the fluidity of city space."[70] For the contemporary writer Hayashi Fumiko, vagabondage was a constant source of inspiration for writing, as witnessed in her immensely popular novel, *Hôrôki* (Diary of a Vagabond, 1928.10–30.10, *Nyonin Geijitsu*). Rather than traversing the great city like this powerful female writer

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[67] *Bungaku Quarterly* (Literature Quarterly, 1932.2,6) is a two-volume literary journal edited by Yasutaka Tokuzô that aimed to provide a publication venue for rising writers of avant-garde literature. Contributors include Uno Kôji, Ibuse Masuji, Ito Sei, Hirotsu Kazuo, and Yokomitsu Riichi.

[68] *Hi no tori* (Phoenix, 1928.10-1933.10) is a women's literary journal edited by Takeshima Kimiko and Kurihara Kiyoko. Though it was considered highbrow and lacking in the social aspects, some members of *Nyonin Geijutsu* began to publish in this journal particularly after it ceased publication in July of 1932.

[69] *Shin kagakuteki bungei* (New Scientific Arts, 1930.7-1933.2) is a literary journal edited by Nakagawa Yoichi. Nakagawa's reflective essay on the journal shows his self-differentiation from what he calls the 19th century proletarian notion of "science," and identification with what he calls 20th century science, or "documentary science" (*kiroku kagaku*). Itô Sei's "Hifu no shôri" (Triumph of the Flesh) and "Kikai no zettaisei" (Absoluteness of Machines) were also published in this journal.
「吾々の科学的といふ意味は、決して十九世紀のプロレタリア思想ほど時代おくれのものではないのである。吾々の立場には二十世紀の科学がある。記録科学の精神がある。『科学的』と云へば非常にプロレタリア的でなければ意味が無いと考へたりするやうな無智は警戒しなければならない。その点でも吾々の立場はハッキリと存在するのである。吾々の立場は高度の思考力と平行して現代の頂点に在らうとする。」 中河与一『断片後—本誌の題名に就いて』

[70] Seiji Lippit, *Topographies of Japanese Modernism*, p.7.

who wandered from place to place, from profession to profession, from man to man, Midori is remembered to have spent much of her time in the limited space of her rented room on the second floor of a house in Kami-Ochiai. In addition to Midori's own portraits of various misanthropic characters that became transposed onto the author's image, Fumiko perpetuated this myth by comparing her own vagabond nature to Midori's steadfastness in her 1933 essay on the Ochiai neighborhood, remembering Midori's room as a "still composition" (*OMZ* 1979, 515)[71] in which she diligently worked, always sitting in the same place in front of the same desk.

Midori's works are indeed situated in an ambivalent position of being both immersed in yet somehow detached from the urban landscape. Many of her characters are cooped up inside a small room and have an unexplained aversion for human interaction. Yet, it is in the mind that these characters wander, sometimes inadvertently, seeking that which is unarticulated. Her ideal mode of writing is thus expressed as various forms of movement: a "stroll" (*sanpo*), a "walk" (*hokô*) or "wandering" (*hôkô*). In *Eiga mansô*, Midori articulates this metaphor of walking in a paragraph addressed to the French modernist writer Paul Morand (1888-1976):

> Paul Morand! The Japanese decidedly believe that sauntering [*sanpo*] is possible only by foot. If a legless saunter arrives in Japan, or happens to be created in Japan, it would be considered sleep-talk or a soliloquy. And so, I beseech you, please teach the Japanese, through your technique, that there are other forms of sauntering than by foot, that there are various shades of sauntering.[72] (*OMZ*2, 126-7)

Reflecting this plea, Midori declares that what she is attempting in *Eiga mansô* is "not scientific critique, but a wandering of a rambling thinker" (*OMZ*2, 129).[73]

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[71] Hayashi Fumiko, *Ochiai-chô sansenki* (1933.9, *Kaizô*).「動かない構図」

[72]「ポオル・モオラン！日本人といふものは、散歩といへば脚でするものと決めてるやうです。脚のほかの散歩が日本に来ると、またはたまに日本で創られると、それはもう散歩ぢゃなくなり、ねごとか、ひとりごとにされてしまひます。ですから、あなたにすこしお願ひがあるのです。散歩には脚以外の散歩のあることを、いろんな色あひの散歩のあることを、あなたのテクニックで次々日本人に教へていただきたいのです。」

[73]「そして「映画慢想」なる駄文を通じて私のしなければならないことは、画面の科学者批評ぢやなく漫想家的彷徨です」

The longing for another world detached from physical reality was the central theme in *Dainana kankai hôkô*, and "Hokô" (Walking, 1931.9) expands on this theme, depicting what appears to be the same heroine in a first-person narrative though she remains unnamed. The girl goes from one place to another, visiting curious personalities while constantly being distracted by what is in her head. At the beginning of the story, we are told that she leaves her attic room to take a walk in the fields. We soon find, however, that she had been sent on an errand, and the "fields" may only exist in her mind as the backdrop of her thoughts. Reality is never certain, as the present is constantly overtaken by her thoughts as she dips into the memory of her strange love affair. Guided by her wandering mind, she repeatedly goes off track so that when she finally reaches her destination, the errand is no longer useful. The girl moves on to the next destination without any sense of spiritual exhilaration, as one might expect from the ambitious and vibrant heroine of Hayashi Fumiko's novel.

The premise of the story is that the girl (Ono Machiko) is still living with her grandmother, temporarily occupying the attic room of a house in preparation for a guest. Like the novella, the girl sets up her temporary room using old, discarded materials at hand. She makes a desk out of tangerine container boxes and a flat board used for making rice cakes during New Years, and turns a large chest into a bed, hanging a torn paper lantern next to it. She eats persimmons from the branches near the window. It is in this temporary attic room that the traveling psychologist Kôda Tôhachi conducts his "psychological study" (*shinri kenkyû*) on the girl, while sitting on the diaper drying basket and eating persimmons from the tree. He tells her to read aloud some lines from a romantic play in one of the volumes of an anthology of dramatic works (*gikyoku zenshû*). Although the girl is shy at first, she soon relaxes in the unconventional setting and begins to recite the lines. After reading the lines back and forth together for a few

days, during which the psychologist noted the effect of the recitation on her pronunciation and intonation of her voice, he suddenly departs to pursue another subject of psychological study. Without being able to give voice to her emotions, the girl repeats the same dramatic lines over and over after he is gone, as if hypnotized.

All of this is on her mind as she is sent on an errand by her grandmother to deliver azuki-covered sweet rice balls to a neighbor's house. In the short span of a single evening, she delivers the rice balls to Mr. Matsumoto, the zoologist, who then sends her on another errand to deliver a jar of tadpoles and rice balls to Mrs. Matsumoto's younger brother Tsuchida Kyûsaku. Kyûsaku is a misanthropic surrealist poet currently working on a poem about tadpoles, and Matsumoto's plan is to make Kyûsaku write realistic poems by presenting him with the actual object. Seeing the tadpoles in real life makes him unable to write, however, and he sends the girl on several more errands to buy various types of medication, to which he clearly has an addiction. When she remembers Kôda Tôhachi and lets out a sigh, he gives her an anonymous poem, which frames the story by appearing at the beginning and at the end. This circular narrative reinforces the lack of direction or conclusion to the girl's aimless wandering.

"Kôrogijô" (Miss Cricket, 1932.7)

This figure of the neurotic poet with an addiction returns in "Kôrogijô" (Miss Cricket, 1932.7). Kôrogijô, or Miss Cricket, lives in a rented room on the upper floor of a house; she is misanthropic, addicted to some kind of drugs, shuns daylight, and lives not in reality but in the fictional world that unfolds on cinema screens or library desks. While Miss Cricket resembles Midori's usual neurotic characters, the narrator has no privileged insight into the heroine's mind. Neither a third-person objective narrative nor a first-person confessional story, the story explores the difficulty of pinning down the central character. Rather, the protagonist of the story could be

understood as the narrative voice itself, which shows heightened consciousness of its role as a narrator. The central conflict, then, is a modernist question: the narrator's attempt to capture the intangible heroine with language.

This question of character representation (the impossibility of pinning down of the authentic self, or the exploration of the multiplicity of the self) is one that Virginia Woolf poses in many of her works and most explicitly in *Orlando* (1928), which appeared in Japanese translation one year prior to "Kôrogijô." Following the central character Orlando, Woolf's narrator cries out in exasperation mid-novel, "If only subjects, we might complain (for our patience is wearing thin), had more consideration for their biographers!" (*Orlando*, 187). Midori's "Kôrogijô" echoes this comic complaint, and addresses the difficulty of depicting human lives with a pen. Midori's narrator gravely states: "we must be especially careful in dealing with her. Let us follow her quietly, taking care not to lose sight of her shadow" (*OMZ*1, 387; Lippit, 36).[74] The first few pages of the story show that the stress lies not in the accurate portrayal of facts, which are constantly negated and rendered irrelevant by relying on the "rumors of the wind" (*fûsetsu*), but rather in the process of speculation and the evocations of certain moods and atmospheres that envelop the characters.

"Kôrogijô" presents not a single narrator, but rather multiple narrators, who refer to themselves in the collective "we" as "*watashitachi*." This is the same technique that Woolf employs in *Orlando*, and this diffusion of a central narrative figure further echoes Woolf's patriarchal critique of "egotistical" writing in *A Room of One's Own*. In a comic-satirical tone, Woolf attacks the letter "I," which emerges as a symbol of the egotistical self that characterizes male writing: "It was a straight dark bar, a shadow shaped something like the letter "I"… in the

[74] 「私たちは、よほど心して彼女を扱わなければならない。彼女の影を見失わないように、私た ちは静かについて行きたいのである」

shadow of the letter "I" all is shapeless as mist" (*Room*, 99-100).[75] Woolf's use of the metaphor of the "mist" as that which becomes overshadowed by the patriarchal "I," however, makes an interesting juxtaposition to the key imagery of "mist" (*kiri*, *kasumi*) in Midori's writings. The collective narrative voice of *watashitachi* attempts to gather information on the heroine by listening to the "faint whisper of the wind" (*kasukana kaze no tayori*), but there are no concrete facts: "We felt as if we only half understood the opinions of our contentious wind. Let us entrust those aspects we did not understand to the mists of heaven" (*OMZ*1, 387; Lippit, 36).[76] Here, the nonchalant narrator of "Kôrogijô" privileges the vagueness of the "mists" as much as what is visible and tangible. In fact, in contrast to Woolf, who conjures the mist image as a symbol of patriarchal oppression, Midori playfully uses the mist metaphor to evoke the characters' inner psychology or the realm of the unconscious. In this way, "Kôrogijô" steps away from the realist tradition of the authoritative narrative voice, and presents instead a narrative that privileges the effect of dispersion and uncertainty as a positive and possible representation of character.

In "Kôrogijô," where facts are ambiguous and reality is vague, what seems most concrete and sustained is the mood that envelops the story. In order to create this mood, the collective narrator gives a description that is not detached and objective, but highly subjective and imaginative, intruding into the scene with its own interpretive description.

> All across the open May fields there fell a drizzling rain, leaving the air awash with the fragrance of spent paulownia flowers at the end of the season. Only two minutes after leaving her rented room, Miss Cricket's faded spring coat was covered with moisture. The sight of a retreating figure sometimes dampens the viewer's spirits, and faced with the scene of the open fields in May, we naturally let out a sigh. Miss Cricket's appearance was ill suited to the spring landscape. The young lady's retreating figure was wrapped in a

[75] While this critique is directed mostly towards male writers, it can also be directed towards female writers such as Charlotte Bronte, whom Woolf criticizes as being unable to keep the author (shadow of "I") from entering the text.
[76]「この理屈好きな風の見解は、私たちに半分だけ解ったような感じを与えた。解らない部分は、 私たちも、やはり、神々の国の、霧のなかに預けておくことにしよう」

> single spring coat that had faded and had the feel of an autumn coat. We felt all the more like placing Miss Cricket's figure within the autumn wind.[77] (*OMZ*1, 391; Lippit, 38)

In this single passage, the train of imagery shifts from the drizzling rain in the fields, to Miss Cricket's damp coat, to the heavy hearts of the narrators, all linked with the image of moisture. Rather than being delineated as a distinct character, Miss Cricket becomes blended into the overall mood of the landscape as dampness and fatigue take over the field, the flowers, Miss Cricket's coat, and finally Miss Cricket herself. The mood is so overwhelming that the narrator even takes the liberty to shift the season from spring to autumn, even this being secondary. The series of imageries vaguely give shape to the central character, blending into the overarching mood of the story.

"Kôrogijô" could be read as the sort of writing that the heroine of *Dainana kankai hôkô* had wished to achieve. The sensation of smell is once again made central, overwhelming the senses with a drugging effect. Just as the smell of manure permeated the house in the novella, the scent of paulownia flowers follow Miss Cricket wherever she is, whether in the house or under an umbrella in the fields. As if drugged by the stifling smell, the language describing the scent of the flowers becomes confused with the sensory stimuli of sound and color:

> A cluster of paulownia flowers bloomed in a corner of a field, and when it rained, their fragrance reverberated even to Miss Cricket's dwelling… the scent of paulownia flowers filled the air around her in a pale, whitish color.[78] (*OMZ*1, 389-90; Lippit, 37)

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[77] 「五月の原っぱは一面の糠雨。季節に疲れた桐の匂ひ 。そしてこほろぎ嬢の色あせた春の外套は、借部屋を出て二分あまり、すでにいちめん湿っぽかった。人間の後姿といふ ものは、時に、見るものの心を湿っぽくするものらしい。いま、五月の原っぱの情景に、私たちはしぜんと吐息を一つ洩らしてしまったのである。こほろぎ嬢の風姿は、それはあまり春の光景にふさはしいものではなかった。嬢の後姿を包んでゐるものは、一枚の春の外套であるとはいへ、もはや色あせて、秋の外套の呼名にふさは しい色あいであった。そして私たちは、 こほろぎ嬢の風姿をいっそ秋風の中に置きたいと思ったことである。」

[78] Here, I have modified Seiji Lippit's translation to emphasize my point.「原っぱの片隅に一群れの桐の花が咲いて、雨が降ると、桐の花の匂いは こほろぎ嬢の住いにまで響いてきた（中略）桐の花の匂いがひ と頃よりは幾らか白っぽく褪せ漂っていたわけである」

In a confusion of the senses, the scent is described as echoing like music and manifesting visually as a color. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the Japanese word for paulownia is "*kiri*," which is phonetically the same as the word for "mist" (*kiri*). With this play of words, Midori evokes one image after another like a linked verse; the image of paulownia flowers is linked to Miss Cricket's old and withered coat, linked to Miss Cricket herself who is associated with mist.

Miss Cricket, who we are told shuns sunlight, goes out on a rainy day into the fields and crosses the parking lot to go to a library. The narrative "we" speculates that her misanthropic nature may perhaps be due to a certain drug; her addiction to it is as intense as a love-affair (*dekiai*), causing her to withdraw from the outer world and choosing instead to live in the world of the imagination.

> Addicts of the powdered medicine would rather grasp for air that is someplace far away than for what is close at hand. From their own peculiar interpretations, they grow to fear and disdain the world they live in and try to keep their distance from it. Finally, they come to think the world unfolding on a theater screen or the world spread out on library desks a more comfortable place to live.[79] (*OMZ*1, 388; Lippit, 36)

Drugs, as opposed to physical movement, become a means to wander the unknown regions of the mind. Shying away from society, Miss Cricket becomes an inhabitant of the indoor space of the library, taking a symbolic descent into an underground space or the inner psyche. The drugs take her out of her immediate surroundings into an imaginary topos, where her mind can play without the constraints of geography. Rather than presenting a coherent identity, Midori's representation of this drugged effect is a strategic device to disrupt the coherent self, allowing her to represent myriad fragmented sensations that refuse integration.

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[79] 「こんな粉薬の中毒人種は、何でも、手を出せば摑み当てれるような空気を摑もうとはしないで、どこか遠い杳かな空気を摑もうと願望したり、身のまわりに在るところの生きて動いている世界をば彼等の身勝手な意味づけから恐れたり、煙たがったり、はては軽蔑したり、ついに、映画館の幕の上や図書館の机の上の世界の方が住み心地が宜しいと考えはじめるということだ。」

In the attempt to analyze Miss Cricket's affliction and idiosyncrasies "scientifically," the narrative "we" draws on the authority of Kôda Tôhachi's theories, which derives from the psychological experiments in "Hokô" where he had his subjects recite lines from romantic plays. The already skeptical nature of his "science," however, is made all the more dubious filtered through the vague memory of the narrators (*oborogena kiokuryoku*). According to his theory, Miss Cricket's symptoms (shunning sunlight, refusing to breathe in the scent of flowers, etc) are typical of someone afflicted with a nervous disorder, and the reason why she avoids the scent of paulownia flowers is that they, too, suffer from a nervous condition. For Midori, the field of psychology as a scientific discipline is a source of parody, but also an inspiration for new ways of literary representation.

***Schizo-Psychology*: William Sharp & Fiona Macleod**

In the early 20th century, various aspects of gender and sexuality became central concerns for writers and critics in Europe and beyond, prompted by numerous new studies on psycho-sexology by European theorists such as Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840-1902), Havelock Ellis (1859-1939), and Otto Weininger (1880-1903). While these studies were clinical in nature, notions such as the "intermediate sex" could be used as a potentially destabilizing force to conventional binary notions of masculinity and femininity.[80] In *A Room of One's Own* (1929), one can see Virginia Woolf working out the idea of androgyny as the ideal state of a creative mind. She evokes this in an image of a man and woman riding a taxi together as a possible image of androgyny:

> But the sight of the two people getting into the taxi and the satisfaction it gave me made me also ask whether there are two sexes in the mind corresponding to the two sexes in the body… The normal and comfortable state of being is that when the two live in harmony together, spiritually co-operating. If one is a man, still the woman part of the brain must

[80] Edward Carpenter, *The Intermediate Sex* (1896), Otto Weininger, *Sex and Character* (1903).

> have effect; and a woman also must have intercourse with the man in her… It is when this fusion takes place that the mind is fully fertilized and uses all its faculties. (*Room*, 98)

Using these images of pregnancy and fertility, Woolf assesses the minds of writers, noting Shakespeare as the greatest example of the androgynous mind, and Proust as another such writer in the contemporary age (though she speculates whether he is "perhaps a little too much of a woman" (*Room*, 103)). Woolf's ideal of androgyny is part of her feminist critique of patriarchal writing, and an attempt to challenge the dominant male-oriented literary canon.[81]

Modern historian Donald Roden argues that the fascination for gender ambivalence particularly became the spirit of the 1920s across metropolises (e.g. Berlin, Paris, London, New York, Tokyo) and across genres (e.g. music, film, literature).[82] The fascination with this discourse of psycho-sexology indeed penetrated a wide range of Japanese society, from popular culture and literature to the minds of educators. Midori's concern with the idea of androgyny can be seen in the term "schizo-psychology" (*bunretsu shinri*), a key term she invents and that appears across her works. As opposed to the harmonious imagery of androgyny evoked by Woolf, Midori's choice of the term reveals that her idea of androgyny is that of discord and rupture. An important stock character is the doctor of *bunretsu shinri*, as evidenced by the oldest brother Ichisuke in *Dainana kankai hôkô*, or the mysterious Kôda Tôhachi that appears across her short stories. In both cases, Midori brings the concept out of the realm of science into the realm of "love" (*ren'ai*). In *Dainana kankai hôkô*, Ono Machiko interprets her brother's study of *bunretsu shinri* in terms of a romance between a man and a woman. In "Hokô," the girl is made to recite lines from romantic plays, and is left in a hypnotic state of longing. The newly invented

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[81] Following *A Room of One's Own*, Woolf's explores the concept of androgyny in fictional form in *Orlando*, in which she exposes the construction of gender through the main character's sex change in the middle of the book. As Orlando turns from man to woman, he changes from men's clothes to women's dresses, and it is this change of clothes that bring forth a change in gendered character rather than the other way around. In this novel, clothes function to expose the performativity of gender, which is not fixed but fluid and easily interchangeable.

[82] Donald Roden, "Taishô Culture and the Problem of Gender Ambivalence," p.37.

discipline of *bunretsu shinri* is constantly treated with comic ridicule, yet portrayed as containing inspiring possibilities for new ways of character representation.

Although the term appears across her works, the most extensive exploration of the idea of *bunretsu shinri* appears in "Kôrogijô." The ideal figure of *bunretsu shinri* is represented by the character of William Sharp (1855-1905), a reference to an actual Scottish poet who created an imaginary female persona by the name of Fiona Macleod and published works under her name. The works of Fiona Macleod were introduced to Japan in 1925, when a translation of short stories came out under the title *Kanashiki joô: Fiona Makuraodo tanpenshû* (Melancholy Queen: Short Stories by Fiona Macleod, 1925, Daiichi shobô) by Matsumura Mineko (1878-1957).[83] The fictional nature of the female writer was revealed only after William Sharp's death, somewhat scandalously, and this curious story captured the imagination of Midori as a poetic mind in which the male and female could coexist as separate beings. Furthermore, the narrator notably compares Sharp's letter correspondences with Fiona Macleod with the exchange of love poems in the mid-Heian period work *Ise Monogatari* (Tales of Ise), whose hero Narihira came to be known for his bisexuality in the Edo period and eulogized in Edo-period fiction as the figure of androgyny.[84] In this way, Midori takes inspiration from Sharp's creation of the female persona to play in a fantasy world of androgyny, imagining their relationship as a love affair.

Instead of the amorous character of *Ise Monogatari* who, in the legend, enjoyed the love of both sexes, the love story in "Kôrogijô" is self-contained, existing between the two personas of a single person. Midori contrasts the spiritual existence of Fiona Macleod with the chorus of

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[83] Matsumura Mineko (real name Katayama Hiroko) is a translator of Irish literature, most notably for works by John Millington Synge, Lady Gregory and W.B. Yeats. She became a muse for writers Hori Tatsuo and Akutagawa Ryûnosuke, and appeared in their works.

[84] According to Jennifer Robertson, Narihira's name formed the basis for the Edo-period term denoting androgyny: "*futanarihira*," literally meaning "double-bodied" or "body double." Jennifer Robertson, *Takarazuka: Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan*, p.52.

voices by literary critics demanding a physical proof of their love affair. Following their simultaneous deaths, the critics demand in vain the proof of Fiona Macleod's bodily existence: "Even if we have to tread through grass, we must discover the body of Miss Macleod" (*OMZ*1, 398).[85] At the end of the episode, however, the narrator finally reveals the identity of Fiona Macleod to be fictitious: "A poet without flesh, formed only as an alter ego [*bunshin*] of the poet Sharp" (*OMZ*1, 398; Lippit, 42).[86] Midori interestingly alters the Chinese character for *bunshin*, which is typically written as "divided body" (分身), into that which signifies "divided mind" (分心), drawing attention to Sharp's psychology. Written with these characters, the term *bunshin* could also be read as the shortened form of Midori's invented term, *bunretsu shinri* (分裂心理), or schizo-psychology.

The story of Sharp and Macleod concludes with the narrator chiding psychologists who classify these personal matters into scientific categories like "doppelganger" (written in phoneticized hiragana as "*dopperugengeru*" (*OMZ*, 122)). Resisting these labels that belong to the scientific realms of psychology and sexuality, the narrator phrases their relationship in poetic language that is more fluid and evocative.

> When his heart was male, the divided poet took up Sharp's pen and wrote letters to his lover, Macleod, and when the poet's heart was female, she took up Macleod's pen and wrote love letters to Sharp.[87] (*OMZ*1, 398; Lippit, 42)

This passage reveals the image of androgyny that Midori proposes: the harmonious existence of two sexes within one mind, taking turns surfacing to consciousness. At the same time that she reproaches psychologists, however, Midori also parodies her own position as a writer by having

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[85] 「余等はいよいよ草を分けてもまくろおど嬢のからだを探しださなければならない！ 」
[86] 「詩人しゃあぷの分心によって作られた肉体のない女詩人 」
[87] 「分心詩人ゐりあむ・しゃあぷの心が男のときはしゃあぷのペンを取ってよき人まくろおどへの艶書をかき、詩人の心が一人の女となったとき、まくろおどのペンを取ってよき人しゃあぷへ艶書したのである。」

the narrator playfully chide the "ephemeral poetess living in an attic in the Far East" (*OMZ*1, 398; Lippit, 42).[88] In this story, which explores the difficulty of depicting the subtleties of human existence with language, the author herself is guilty of attempting to capture the fragile existence of Fiona Macleod in writing.

When Miss Cricket ventures out to the library to find more information on William Sharp, like Ono Machiko did for the female poet in *Dainana kankai hôkô*, she finds no references to the obscure poet in the literary history books. All she finds is a short reference of his name next to Oscar Wilde in one of the prefaces, which claimed to censor "unhealthy literature, any literature suffering from nervous illness" (*OMZ*1, 399; Lippit, 43).[89] Questioning the value of dominant literary histories that exclude certain writers from the canon, the story associates the ephemeral existence of the imagined poet Fiona Macleod, the fictional character Miss Cricket, and the author figure Midori (the "ephemeral poetess living in an attic in the Far East") to evoke possibilities of an alternative existence.

In a later poem dedicated to William Sharp entitled "Kamigami ni sasaguru shi" (Poems Dedicated to the Gods, 1933.11, *Kôya*), published in a local poetry journal the year after her return to Tottori, Midori refers to Sharp as "an obscure poet shaken out of literary history… a poet in the mists of London" (*OMZ*1, 16-7).[90] Here, Sharp is connected to Miss Cricket through mist imagery. In order to pin down his obscure existence, the narrator of the poem turns to an existing book of Japanese translations by Lafcadio Hearn, which contains letters exchanged by Sharp and Fiona Macleod. Turning to these archival sources, Midori sheds light on the process of critical reception, translation, and the creation of literary history.

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[88] 「東洋の屋根部屋に住む一人の儚い女詩人」

[89] 「この出版書肆の主人は、一種気高い思想を持っていて、健康でない文学、神経病に罹っている文学等の文献は、一行たりとも出版しないことを吾人に告げた。」

[90] 「君は、/ 文学史から振りおとされた / とても微かな詩人（中略）ろんどんノ霧ノナカノ詩人サ」

Even while the poem makes the gesture to locate William Sharp within literary history by turning to material evidence, it quickly departs from "facts" and goes into the realm of the imagination. Turning its back on the manmade literary canon, which renders the poet obscure, the poem attempts to capture the essence of the poet by going beyond the limited categories of gender or the nation. The poem first associates Sharp with something so faint and indefinite as the scent of a flower, quickly expanding to a larger realm through a play of words. By writing "osmanthus" (*mokusei*) not using Chinese characters but phonetically in hiragana, the narrator plays with the double meaning of the flower osmanthus and the planet Jupiter (also *mokusei*), and this shift in meaning allows the imagination to play in the cosmic world. The poem departs from the earthly sphere where manmade literary histories exist, and ascends high into the universe where gender and morality are rendered irrelevant. Through an imaginative play of language, the narrator transgresses time and space in the attempt to give significance to the poet in alternative ways, finding creative possibilities in his androgynous mind.

Anton's Basement: Utopian Single-Sex Community

In *A Room of One's Own*, Woolf famously declares the necessity to have "money and a room of one's own" (*Room*, 108) in order to write creatively. The concept of "room" is also crucial to Osaki Midori; almost all the characters in Midori's works live in a room of their own that is their own creative space. It is, however, not a space to be sanctified and appropriated as that which Woolf symbolically evokes, but is often a shabby, temporary second-floor room that is easily invaded by the surrounding world, whether by other people, by nature, or by immaterial things like music or smell. In the earlier story "Shijin no kutsu" (The Poet's Shoes, 1928.8), this motif of the rented room at the top of a house appears for the first time. The male poet lives in the attic room both for financial reasons and for his preference for dim and isolated places. For

him, the attic is an ivory tower in which he can become the most avant-gardes of all poets. Yet, this space is first invaded by the strong summer sunlight, and second by the presence of his new neighbor with whom he accidentally falls in love. Although his scheme to meet the woman in person ends in failure, the sound of his sobs and her light-hearted whistling form an accidental chorus, ending the story on a bittersweet note. In Midori's world, isolation is never complete.

In "Chikashitsu Anton no ichiya" (A Night in Anton's Basement, 1932.8), written one month after "Kôrogijô," the attic room becomes juxtaposed with an underground space. Living in a dingy rented room on the second floor of a house, the poet Tsuchiya Kyûsaku, who could be read as an alter ego of Miss Cricket, fantasizes about a room that exists underground:

> A basement— oh, how I long for a splendid room underground. A room with a door that makes an incredibly pleasant sound. I would go down there, forgetting everything about this earth. Long ago, there was a doctor named Anton Chekhov who lived in the twilight era of some country, and he always had a smile on his face. I want the door leading to my underground room to resemble the doctor's expression. Anton's basement.[91] (*OMZ*1, 413)

Kyûsaku's imagined underground space is associated with the Russian writer Anton Chekhov, whose unique sense of humor Midori had often expressed admiration for (see especially "Nioi" (1928.11)). At the end of the story, the three characters that appeared in "Hôkô" (Kôda Tôhachi, the scholar of *bunretsu shinri*; Tsuchida Kyûsaku, the poet; Mr. Matsumoto, the zoologist) gather together in this so-called Anton's Basement. In the collective voice of the narrative "we," the room is described as a metaphor of the mind:

> In this room that night, there were neither complicated conversation etiquettes nor rules of love psychology. This is because, as people already know, this room was created by a certain poet's mind. We secretly believe in this – the mind is unfathomably vast. That's

[91] 「地下室 - おお、僕は、心の中で、すばらしい地下室を一つ求めてゐる。うんと爽やかな音の扉を持った一室。僕は、地上のすべてを忘れて其処へ降りて行く。むかしアントン・チェホフといふ医者は、何処かの国の黄昏期に住んでゐて、しかし、何時も微笑してゐたさうだ。僕の地下室の扉は、その医者の表情に似てゐてほしい。地下室アントン。」

> why we do not wish to limit the size of this room nor the color of its walls. The room was of a reasonable size, and its walls had a serene color.[92] (*OMZ*1, 417)

Just as the "mind" cannot be limited to any size or color, neither can this underground space be clearly defined. The most important aspect is that it is a sanctuary from social norms, uncomplicated by human relationships or romance. Everyone in the space exists in his own right, not intruding on one another's territories. Here, Tsuchida Kyûsaku is able to forget his fixations (his dislike for Mr. Matsumoto or his one-sided love for Ono Machiko) and believes he can write poetry again. In "Chikashitsu Anton," the three characters coexist in tranquility, each guarding his privacy. The narrative form also reflects this disparate coexistence. The story begins with a collage of excerpts from the three character's notebooks, followed by a short description by the narrative "we," and the story ends in a finely orchestrated dialogue between the three characters that resembles a series of independent poetic monologues.

"Kôrogijô" also proposes the underground space as a unique realm where disparate coexistence may be possible. The narrator follows Miss Cricket into a women-only cafeteria in the basement of the library, and in this dark underground space, Miss Cricket discovers another woman and imagines a spiritual interaction with her. Imagining her to be a "student of midwifery" (*OMZ*1, 400; Lippit, 44),[93] she poses questions without words, telling her not to follow her example and waste time thinking about useless things like crickets (*kôrogi*). It is interesting that, like "Chikashitsu Anton," this underground space is occupied by only one sex, in this case by women. Miss Cricket's one-sided correspondence with the anonymous woman (whom she calls "Widow") intimates the desire for a kind of community where individuals can

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[92] 「この室内の一夜には、別に難かしい会話の作法や恋愛心理の法則などはなかった。何故といへば、人々のすでに解って居られるとほり、此処は一人の詩人の心によって築かれた部屋である。私たちは、私かに信じてゐる – 心は限りなく広い。それ故、私たちは、この部屋の広さ、壁の色などを一々限りたくはないのである。部屋は程よい広さで、壁は静かな色であった。 」

[93] 「産婆学の暗記者」

exist without being threatened by others or by normative social pressures. In *Dainana kankai hôkô*, Midori had hinted at the possibility of a single-sex community with Machiko's unspoken interaction with the girl next door (via letters, delivered to one another by hand), yet this possibility was quickly destroyed when she discovered Sangorô's rendezvous with her. In "Kôrogijô," this utopian community may be possible in the women-only cafeteria.

Midori's utopian community is not totalitarian, but a space in which everyone has room to exist as individuals. The cafeteria scene in "Kôrogijô" also echoes with Virginia Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925) in the final scene where Mrs. Dalloway is looking out of the window and imagines a spiritual connection with the elderly woman in the window across the street. This idea of a kind of community, in which everyone exists independently without being threatened by the interference of others, proposes perhaps an alternative form of solidarity that rejects hierarchy and authority. This formulation of a single-sexed community also foreshadows Woolf's alternative idea of community that she develops in her feminist and pacifist manifesto *Three Guineas* (1938), in which she proposes the so-called "Society of Outsiders" as a subversive force for women. Drawing an analogy between patriarchal ideologies in Britain with foreign threats of fascism, both of which are based on the oppression of women, Woolf urges women to use their collective outsider status to refuse to support patriarchy and war, their society comprised of anonymous members existing in a non-hierarchical order. While Midori never articulates her ideas in an overtly political way, her characters are always quietly subversive and exist outside of the dominant spheres.

It is also in this women-only cafeteria that it becomes clear with whom Miss Cricket had fallen into a "roundabout affair" (*OMZ*1, 392; Lippit, 39).[94] The object of her love is not the actual living figure of William Sharp, but rather the product of his imagination Fiona Macleod,

[94] 「迂遠な恋」

whose name she cries out at the end of the story. Defying reality and science, Midori's story finds inspiration in the imaginative existence of Fiona Macleod. From the beginning, this figure had been associated with Miss Cricket, whose existence is just as fragile and vague as the imagined female writer. Fiona Macleod is presented as a "poetess like air" that wrote "pale and whitish (*shiroppoi*) mystical poetry" (*OMZ*1, 393).[95] This phrase "pale and whitish" echoes the description of the scent of paulownia flowers that permeates Miss Cricket's surroundings, connecting her to the female poet on the level of imagery. In fact, even the collective narrator of "Kôrogijô" could be read to represent this imaginary single-sex community of women, attempting to capture the diffused existence of obscure women who would undeniably fall through the cracks of literary history. Yet, Miss Cricket's lament at the end of the story for the carnal need for bread, wishing there was a "way to extend people's lives by breathing only mist" (*OMZ*1, 402; Lippit, 44),[96] shows that this spiritual existence is not easy to achieve in reality. The utopian single-sex community remains a fragile dream, an incomplete yet hopeful aspiration.

As this evocation of the utopian single-sex community shows, Osaki Midori's works are not overtly political or radical, but contain subversive elements that destabilize assumptions and established norms. The physical separation of the sexes, as well as her offbeat depiction of "love" (*ren'ai*) throughout her works, seems to suggest Midori's critique of heterosexual relations that make up the foundations of patriarchal society. It would be too simplistic, however, to interpret this resistance of heteronormativity as a move towards lesbianism, or to reduce her works to a feminist message. As the male-only community in "Chikashitsu Anton no ichiya" shows, Midori proposes this utopian single-sex community as a possible source of rejuvenation for both sexes. Modern critic Kawasaki Kenko has argued that the sexuality depicted in Midori's

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[95] 「何となく空気のやうにも思へる女詩人」「白っぽいみすてり派の詩といふのを書いてゐたという」
[96] 「霞を吸って人のいのちをつなぐ方法」

works is not carnal, but rather a rearranging of the senses that creates a new cosmology.[97] While Kawasaki finds potential in what she calls a "lesbian culture" in Midori's works, the term rather serves as a metaphor that points to an alternative realm of existence.

Like Woolf, who rejected fixed categories of gender and sexuality and sought to invent alternative ways of representing human existence, Midori presents the hope for a utopian single-sexed community not as an exclusive sphere, but a space through which to question existing social norms. Although Midori is less overtly political than Woolf, who wrote two major feminist treatises and various shorter political works, the two writers share a similar stance of feminist subversion. In fact, the anonymous protagonist of "Kôrogijô" (the narrator repeated states, "it makes no difference whether or not we expose our heroine's name" (*OMZ*1, 389; Lippit, 37)[98]) foreshadows Woolf's later development of the idea of "Anon," which she was working out in her unfinished essay at the end of her career. Whereas "Anon" is a prehistoric un-gendered figure of Woolf's utopian imagination ("sometimes man; sometimes woman. He is the common voice singing out of doors, He has no house"[99]), Midori's characters are modern, neurotic figures, stepping out only to go back inside again. The "room of one's own" for these characters exist not only in rented rooms, but also in fields and libraries, yet always as symbolic spaces inside their minds.

Through a close examination of her works in the context of their publication venue, I have shown how Osaki Midori engages with various contemporary discourses while actively taking inspiration from avant-garde art and film in order to innovate and break down what she

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[97] Kawasaki Kenko, "Rezubian bunka kamo shirenai," *Yuriika*, 2004.10, p.226-9.
[98] 「名前をあかしてもあかさなくてもの生きものであった」
[99] Brenda Silver (ed), ""Anon" and "The Reader": Virginia Woolf's Last Essays," *Twentieth Century Literature* 25 (1979), pp.356-441.

considers to be the prevailing methods of narrative, genre, and character representation. As a self-conscious resistance to the dominant mode of literary practice, Midori's works can be perceived as a modernist rupture shared by other avant-garde artists and writers of the period. While her resistance to an autobiographical mode of reading that was typical of women's writing, as well as her preference for certain male writers (Poe, Chekhov) or film actors (Charlie Chaplin), seems to place her at a self-conscious distance from the feminist efforts of *Nyonin geijutsu* to promote women's arts, Midori's works give a powerful critique of society by fundamentally challenging the heteronormative notions of gender that sustain it. Her critique of dominant literary institutions and practices becomes particularly apparent in her mature works following *Dainana kankai hôkô*, in which she brings the female artist figure to center stage. Using gender as a theoretical framework in deconstructing existing norms, Midori continues to show increasing awareness for the position of women vis-à-vis literary production.

By reading Midori's works through the lens of her contemporary writer Woolf, who was entering Japan's literary scene at the height of Midori's career, furthermore, I show how Midori is rooted in the vibrant print and translation culture of the 1920s and 30s that allowed her to be part of the global feminist and modernist discourse. In addition to their similarities in theme, what Midori has in common with Woolf above all is her comic, satirical tone, portraying characters and their worlds with a lovingly, parodic touch. In fact, while Woolf alternates between the serious, heavily structured works (such as *To the Lighthouse* and *The Waves*), and the light-hearted, parodic works (such as *Orlando* and *Flush*, another mock-biography, this time of a dog), the tone of comedy and levity is more sustained in Midori's works. Here, one may recall the well-quoted statement by the iconoclastic, avant-garde critic Hanada Kiyoteru, describing *Dainana kankai hôkô* as "a novel that is filled with unusually bright sunlight" (*OMZ* 1979,

524).[100] Upon hearing how her literary career had abrupted ended with her return to Tottori, Hanada later revised his own statement by saying, "The brightness of her works was perhaps the brightness before an electric lamp goes out" (*OMZ* 1979, 532).[101] While this image of brightness captures the light-hearted tone that pervades her works, and the metaphor of the electric lamp is fitting to the modern urban settings, Midori's comedic vision was also in full recognition of life's potential sorrows and tragedies, as her much admired Charlie Chaplin had shown in the world of cinema. While Midori's writings employ radically new ways of representation, as well as reflect the discourse of gender and sexuality that shaped Japan's literary scene since the early 20th century, they also show profound reflections on human psychology that is still relevant and inspiring today, making her one of Japan's most complex modernist writers of the pre-war period.

[100] Originally published in the afterward to *Abe Kôbô shû* (1960.12), volume two of the *Shin'ei bungaku sôsho* series. This essay was later reprinted in Hanada's collection of essays *Chibu no shisô* (1965.8) with the title "Buraamusu wa osuki."「異常なまでにあかるい日のひかりのみちあふれたようなその小説」

[101] Originally published in the essay "Gotaimen" (1972.2, *Bungei*).「彼女の作品のあの明るさは、電燈のきれる前の明るさだったのかもしれない」

Epilogue

Women's Writing in Wartime and Postwar Japan

I have focused in my dissertation on the period from the turn of the century to the early 1930s, when women's new status in relation to the modern nation-state and the emerging field of literature led to the formation of the journalistic category of "women's literature" in Japan's rapidly commercialized publishing industry and expanding media. Through an examination of the discourses surrounding a series of women writers such as Higuchi Ichiyô, Tamura Toshiko, Yosano Akiko, Hiratsuka Raichô, Ikuta Hanayo, Osaki Midori, and others, I have shown not only how women's writing was shaped by contemporary debates in the media, government policies, and building of institutions, but also how these women themselves took on an active role in intervening and shaping the way these discourses evolved. Through each of their efforts, whether in the form of fiction, criticism, manifesto, or translation, these women challenged the prevailing notions of womanhood by creating their own narratives and literary legacies. Furthermore, the efforts of these Japanese women resonate with the global movement of feminism and important debates regarding women's education and rights, while acutely responding to new literary movements and new forms of media through the vibrant cultures of publishing and translation.

These key developments in the first three decades of the 20th century had fundamental impact on the way women's writing was conceived and evolved in the following decades. The community of women writers and the category of women's literature took on renewed importance as Japan became involved in war efforts from the early 1930s, when questions of

gender roles and literary writings became pressing issues within the context of nationalism and imperialism. In the wake of Japan's defeat in World War II, there were a series of significant legal changes regarding women's social status, beginning with the passing of women's suffrage under American Occupation in 1945. In the post-Occupation 1950s, intellectuals and cultural critics began to reexamine the ideological flaws of Japanese modernity, as witnessed, among others, by the scholar of modern Chinese literature Takeuchi Yoshimi (1910-1977) in the debate over "national literature" (*kokumin bungaku*).

An important development from wartime to postwar periods is the Women Writers Association (*Joryû bungakusha kai*), initially formed in 1936 with a critical distance from Hasegawa Shigure's literary group associated with the journal *Kagayaku* (Brilliant, 1933-41), a continuation of *Nyonin geijutsu* that increasingly gained militant overtones as Japan's involvement in the war intensified.[1] While the association was formed to separate their literary practice from militarism, their activities inevitably became incorporated into national war efforts. In the postwar period, the association resumed activities with a renewed force with the help of Kamakura-based established writers Kume Masao (1891-1952) and Kawabata Yasunari (1899-1972), and the journal *Fujin bunko* (Women's Library, 1946) was founded to provide a venue for publication for the members of the association. With Yoshiya Nobuko (1896-1973) as the first president from 1945 to 1951, the Women Writers Association played a significant role in the official recognition of women's writing through the establishment of the Woman Writer Prize (*Joryû bungakusha shô*) in 1946 and the publication of the *Gendai joryû bungaku zenshû* (Anthology of Contemporary Women's Literature) series in the 1950s.[2] After Yoshiya Nobuko,

[1] For essays, roundtable discussions, and a brief history of the Women Writers Association by members of the group, see Nihon joryû bungakusha kai (ed), *Joryû bungakusha kai kiroku* (2007).
[2] Ibid, p.239. According to the book, the only known volumes today are vol.1 Hirabayashi Taiko, vol.2 Tsuboi Sakae, vol.4 Sata Ineko, vol.5 Hayashi Fumiko, and vol.8 Yoshiya Nobuko.

the presidency was handed down to Uno Chiyo (1897-1996), then Hirabayashi Taiko (1905-1972), then Enchi Fumiko (1905-1986) who served for nearly twenty years from 1958 to 1976. Following a number of noted women writers since then, Tsushima Yûko (1947-) served as the final president of the association before it terminated in 2007.

The Woman Writer Prize was founded by the Women Writers Association in 1946 with an all-female jury as the Japanese version of the prestigious French literary prize Prix Femina, which was notably given to Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse* in 1926. The prize bears witness to the enthusiasm held by Japanese women writers to take part in the global recognition of women's literary achievements, as well as to establish an official recognition of women's writing within Japan's literary world. The first recipient was Hirabayashi Taiko, a major writer from the prewar period who later became president of the association. Although the award tended to circulate within the members of the association especially in the early years, the prize shifted over to the major publishing house Chûôkôronsha in 1962 with a mixed jury. The Woman Writer Prize continued until the year 2000 with Kawakami Hiromi (1958-) as the last recipient, indicating a symbolic close to the category of "women's literature" which flourished for a good part of the 20th century.

There is an abundance of materials for study on the discourses surrounding women's writing in wartime and postwar Japan. The memoir became a particularly important genre as a medium through which women articulated their positions in literary history as they began to look back at the previous decades.[3] Already by the mid-1930s, there is the memoir by Sôma Kokkô (1875-1955), an influential art patron and a graduate of Iwamoto Yoshiharu's Meiji Women's School, titled *Mokui* (Silent Passing, 1936), originally serialized in 1934 in the women's magazine *Fujin no tomo* (Woman's Friend, 1908-). In the postwar period, there is Yoshiya

[3] See Tomi Suzuki, "Gender and Genre: Modern Literary Histories and Women's Diary Literature" (2000).

Nobuko's idiosyncratic collection *Jiden-teki joryû bundan shi* (An Autobiographical History of Women's Writing, 1962), which makes a collage out of her own personal memoirs to create an episodic literary history of women's writing in modern Japan.

There are also important works of critical scholarship by women. Miyamoto Yuriko's *Fujin to bungaku: Kindai Nihon no fujin sakka* (Women and Literature: Women Writers of Modern Japan, 1939-40) is an early example. The most important figure that played a major role in the critical study of women writers is probably the literary critic Itagaki Naoko (1896-1977), who, after graduating from Japan Women's College, became the first female auditor at Tokyo Imperial University in 1921, and subsequently established herself as an important critic in prewar Japan. In the postwar period, Naoko published a series of studies and biographies on prewar women's writing such as *Fujin sakka hyôden* (Critical Biographies of Women Writers, 1954), *Hayashi Fumiko* (1956), *Hirabayashi Taiko* (1956), *Hayashi Fumiko no shôgai: Uzushio no jinsei* (Life of Hayashi Fumiko: A Turbulant Life, 1965), and *Meiji Taishô Shôwa no joryû bungaku* (Women's Literature in the Meiji, Taisho, and Showa Periods, 1967).

More recently, novelist Setouchi Harumi (1922-) emerged as another important figure in continuing the legacy of women's writing. Her creative biography *Tamura Toshiko* (1961) became the first recipient of the Tamura Toshiko Prize in 1961, founded with the royalties incurred from publications after the author's death. The prize was awarded to notable works by women writers and continued until 1977. Setouchi also won the Woman Writer Prize in 1963, and published a series of studies on Meiji women writers and feminists in the 1980s. By this time, the term "*joryû bungaku*" had become so obsolete that feminist critics could parody the term in reevaluating the gendered history of literary criticism. In the provocative study *Danryû bungakuron* (On Men's Literature, 1992), for example, feminist critics Ueno Chizuko, Ogura

Chikako, and Tomioka Taeko invent the term "*danryû*" as an ironic counterpart to the well-known term "*joryû*," giving a scathing reassessment of selected canonical works by male writers by exposing the gendered lens of literary criticism.

All of this does not mean that the gendered notions of writing no longer exist in Japan. The grouping of women writers is still used as strategic marketing tools by the mass media, and this was illuminated most clearly in the media frenzy in 2003 when the prestigious literary award Akutagawa Prize was awarded to two women simultaneously, both of whom broke the record as the youngest recipients. Wataya Risa (1984-) was a nineteen-year-old student at the prestigious Waseda University, and Kanehara Hitomi (1983-) was a twenty-year-old high school dropout with a troubled past. Their contrasting images, accentuated by their visual appearances, were fully manipulated through various media outlets from print to television. When the journal *Bungei shunjû* featured both award-winning novels following the award, the issue broke their previous sales record by selling over 1,185,000 copies.[4]

As women increasingly begin to occupy a large percentage of published literature in contemporary Japan, there is a need for a reconfiguration of the gendered category that emerged and developed in the social, economic, and political contexts of the 20th century. I hope to continue my project by exploring how women grapple with the notions of gender and writing in the context of the changing notions and status of literature in Japan and overseas. Two exciting writers today in my view are Tawada Yoko (1960-) and Mizumura Minae (1951-), both of whom address the issues of language, translation, literary history, national identity, and national literature in the age of globalism. Having lived outside of Japan for a significant period under different circumstances, the two writers question the self-evident nature of writing in a certain

[4] Rachel Dinitto, "Between literature and subculture: Kanehara Hitomi, media commodification and the desire for agency in post-bubble Japan" (*Japan Forum*, 2011.12), p.457.

tongue, and highlight the deliberate choices they make in the language in which they write.[5] What is acquired in both cases, then, is not only gendered language, but also national language. While their attitudes are very different (Tawada deconstructs the notion that there is inherent value or meaning in language, while Mizumura evokes the historicity and materiality of language that is irreducible), they both address important issues of language as it relates to gender and genre that merit closer study.

Through the key issues I have addressed surrounding women and writing in early 20th century Japan, I hope that my dissertation will shed light beyond its timeframe on the shifting relationships between literary production and gender politics, the changing forms of publishing and modes of reading and writing, the ever expanding culture of translation, and the continual efforts by women to seek creative empowerment both within and outside of the nation.

[5] Having moved to Germany as an adult, Tawada Yoko chooses to write in her adopted language of German or in experimental Japanese. She has become a representative figure of "exophonic" writing in transnational literary studies. Mizumura Minae spent most of her youth and twenties in the United States, but chooses to write in Japanese or in a mixture of Japanese and English while acknowledging the power she is relinquishing in not writing in a "universal" language of English.

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